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AN ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES IN THE WEST UNTIL 1519,

AND OF

VOYAGES

TO AND ALONG THE

ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,

FROM 1520 TO 1573.

E.F.P.
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PREPARED FOR

"THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY."

BY CONWAY ROBINSON,

CHAIRMAN OF ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

AND PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

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1848.

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PREFACE.

On the 29th of December 1831, some of the citizens of Virginia formed themselves into a society by the name of "The Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society." The general assembly of the state, by an act of the 10th of March 1834,* incorporated the society, and by a resolution of the 6th of February 1835, directed to be presented to it, a copy of the large map of Virginia, and such books and papers belonging to the library fund as the joint committee on the library might designate.†

A leading object of the society was to collect and preserve books and papers, both in print and manuscript, relating to the history of America, and especially of Virginia;—to make its library a repository of every thing of the kind as far as practicable. It was also contemplated to publish from time to time, the most valuable of its collections, so as to disseminate information of the matter thus acquired, and

* Sess. Acts 1833-4, p. 253, ch. 201. † Sess. Acts 1834-5, p. 254.

have the security against destruction or loss which a multiplication of copies, by printing, would afford. Accordingly, as early as 1833, the society published, in a pamphlet of 85 pages, some of the manuscripts collected by it.

Its operations were suspended from the 20th of February 1838 until the 18th of February 1847. Then through the efforts of a few gentlemen, prominent among whom was WILLIAM MAXWELL, Esquire, the society was re-organized. Its first annual meeting, under its new organization, was held on the 16th of January 1848. On this occasion an appropriate address was delivered by the president, WILLIAM C. RIVES, Esquire; and a report was made by the executive committee.

A part of "the plan of the committee," set forth in this report, "is to publish in chronological order, whatever matter relating to our history, it may deem worthy of publication. In preparing the matter for the press," the committee say, "a careful examination will be made, not only of Smith, Beverley, Stith, Burk, and other books with which a Virginian is familiar, but of other works, hitherto not accessible in this state. What is taken from each will be given in the language of the original author. It will be a leading object to prepare the matter with such fullness, that in each volume published by the society, may be found all that is of value in the period of our history, embraced by it. While, at the same time, it will be attempted to make

the volumes less repulsive to the general reader, than collections of historical societies usually are. The plan of preparing the matter in the order of time, will conduce to this, and entitle the volumes to the name which will be given them of 'Annals of Virginia.'"

Before publishing those annals, it has been thought best that there should be a preliminary volume giving an account of the discoveries in this western hemisphere until the invasion of Mexico in 1519; and of the voyages to and along the Atlantic coast of North America down to 1573. The chairman of the executive committee, from whom this account was desired, had, otherwise, ample occupation for all his time. To execute in a manner satisfactory to himself, the important work entrusted to him and his able coadjutor by the general assembly, namely, the revision of the general statutes of Virginia, he had found himself under the necessity, during its progress, of diminishing considerably his professional business. For him, at such a time, to compile what the committee wished, was, to say the least, extremely inconvenient. He saw no way in which it could be done, except by his taking for it, in lieu of other relaxation, a part of each night for several months. In this way he has accomplished the volume; it goes from him now to the members of the society, prepared as well as his other engagements would permit.

A good deal of matter not generally known, will, it is thought, be found in it. Nearly all the accounts which it contains, of voyages to Florida, and some of the other accounts, have been translated from "Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de L'Amérique, publiés pour la première fois en Français, par H. Ternaux." From 1837 to 1841, twenty volumes were published in Ternaux's Collection, all of which have been examined in the preparation of this volume, so far as their connection with the subject made it proper.

Richmond, August 1848.

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BOOK I.

OF DISCOVERIES IN THE WEST UNTIL 1519.

CHAPTER I.

Of the alleged discovery of America by the Northmen in the eleventh, by the Welch in the twelfth, and by Nicholas and Antonio Zeno in the fourteenth century.

Many elaborate dissertations have been written to prove that discoveries were made on the northern coast of America before the era of Columbus. The following is extracted from the second chapter of Mr. Wheaton's History of the Northmen:*

"There was formerly, say the ancient Sagas, a man named Herjolf, who was descended from Ingolf, the first settler of Iceland. This man navigated from one country to another with his son Bjarne, and generally spent the winters in Norway. It happened once on a time that they were separated from each other, and Bjarne sought his father in Norway, but not finding him there, he learnt that he was gone to the newly discovered country of Greenland.

* "History of the Northmen or Danes and Normans from the earliest times to the conquest of England by William of Normandy. By Henry Wheaton, honorary member of the Scandinavian and Icelandic literary societies at Copenhagen," published at Philadelphia in 1831.

Bjarne resolved to seek and find out his father, wherever he might be, and for this purpose set sail for Greenland (1001), directing himself by the observation of the stars, and by what others had told him of the situation of the land. The three first days he was carried to the west, but afterwards, the wind changing, blew with violence from the north, and drove him southwardly for several days. He at last descried a flat country, covered with wood, the appearance of which was so different from that of Greenland, as it had been described to him, that he would not go on shore, but made sail to the northwest. In this course, he saw an island at a distance, but continued his voyage, and arrived safely in Greenland, where he found his father established at the promontory, afterwards called Herjolfsnœs, directly opposite to the southwest point of Iceland.

"(1002.) In the following summer, Bjarne made another voyage to Norway, where he was hospitably received by Erik, a distinguished Jarl of that country. The Jarl, to whom he related his adventures, reproached him for not having explored the new land towards which he had been accidentally driven. Bjarne having returned to his father in Greenland, there was much talk among the settlers of pursuing his discovery. The restless, adventurous spirit of Leif, son of Erik the Red, was excited to emulate the fame his father had acquired by the discovery of Greenland. He purchased Bjarne's ship, and manned it with thirty-five men. Leif then requested his father to become the commander of the enterprize. Erik at first declined, on account of the increasing infirmities of his old age, which rendered him less able to bear the fatigues of a sea-faring life. He was at last persuaded by his son to embark, but as he was going down to the vessel on horseback, his horse stumbled, which Erik received as an evil omen for his undertaking:—'I do not believe,' said he, 'that it is given to me to discover any more lands, and here will I abide.' Erik

returned back to his house, and Lief set sail with his thirty-five companions, among whom was one of his father's servants, a native of the South-countries, named Tyrker (Dieterich-Dirk), probably a German.

"They first discovered what they supposed to be one of the countries seen by Bjarne, the coast of which was a flat, stony land, and the back ground crowned with lofty mountains, covered with ice and snow. This they named Helluland, or the flat country. Pursuing their voyage farther south, they soon came to another coast, also flat, covered with thick wood, and the shores of white sand, gradually sloping towards the sea. Here they cast anchor and went on shore. They named the country Mark-land, or the country of the wood, and pursued their voyage with a north-east wind for two days and nights, when they discovered a third land, the northern coast of which was sheltered by an island. Here they again landed, and found a country, not mountainous, but undulating and woody, and abounding with fruits and berries, delicious to the taste. From thence they re-embarked, and made sail to the west to seek a harbour, which they at last found at the mouth of a river, where they were swept by the tide into the lake from which the river issued. They cast anchor, and pitched their tents at this spot, and found the river and lake full of the largest salmon they had ever seen. Finding the climate very temperate, and the soil fruitful in pasturage, they determined to build huts and pass the winter here. The days were nearer of an equal length than in Greenland or Iceland, and when they were at the shortest, the sun rose at half past seven, and set at half past four o'clock.*

"It happened one day soon after their arrival, that Tyrker, the German, was missing, and as Leif set a great value upon the youth, on account of his skill in various arts, he

* Supposing this computation to be correct, it must have been in the latitude of Boston, the present capital of New England.

sent his followers in search of him in every direction. When they at last found him, he began to speak to them in the Teutonic language, with many extravagant signs of joy. They at last made out to understand from him in the North tongue, that he had found in the vicinity vines bearing wild grapes. He led them to the spot, and they brought to their chief a quantity of the grapes which they had gathered. At first Leif doubted whether they were really that fruit, but the German assured him he was well acquainted with it, being a native of the southern wine countries. Leif, thereupon, named the country Vinland.

"In the spring following, Leif returned to Greenland. In the winter died his father, Erik the Red, and his brother Thorwald, not being satisfied with the discoveries made by Leif, obtained from him his ship, and engaged thirty companions to embark with him on a new voyage of discovery. On his arrival in Vinland, he passed the winter in the huts constructed by Leif, and subsisted by fishing. In the spring, he took with him a part of his ship's company in a large boat, and explored the coast to the westward, which he found a pleasant country, well wooded, the shores consisting of banks of white sand, and a chain of islands running along the coast, separated from each other by shallow inlets, but no trace of wild beasts or of human inhabitants, except a corn-shed of wood. After spending the summer in this excursion, they returned to their winter quarters. In the following summer, Thorwald sailed in his ship to examine the east and north, but was cast on shore by a storm, and the whole season was lost in repairing the vessel. Here he erected the keel of his ship, which was no longer fit for service, on a head-land, which he called, from that circumstance, Kijalar-nes. He then pursued his voyage to the eastward, giving names to the various capes and bays which he discovered, until he came to a large inlet, where he cast anchor, attracted by the promising appearance of the coun-

try, which rose in high lands covered with thick wood. Here the adventurers disembarked, and Thorwald declared 'this is a goodly place: here will I take up my abode.' Shortly afterward, the adventurers descried on the shore three small batteaux made of hides, under each of which was a band of three natives. These they took prisoners, except one, who made his escape to the mountains, and inhumanly put them to death the same day. A little while after, their wanton cruelty was avenged by the natives, who approached in a multitude of batteaux, and took the companions of Thorwald by surprise, as they were imprudently sleeping, contrary to his admonitions. Thorwald gave them the alarm, and ordered them to shield themselves against the arrows of the natives by wooden balks set up against the sides of the vessel. Not one of his companions was wounded, and the natives took to flight, after discharging a shower of arrows at the Northmen. But Thorwald himself received a mortal wound, and at his own request was buried at the point of the promontory, where he meant to have settled, and a cross erected at his head and another at his feet. The cape was named, from this circumstance, Krossa-nes. The colony of Greenland had been before this time converted to Christianity, but Erik the Red, Thorwald's father, died a heathen. The survivors of Thorwald passed the winter in Vinland, and in the spring returned to Greenland with the news of their discoveries, and of the melancholy fate of Thorwald.

"The native inhabitants found by the Northmen in Vinland, resembled those on the western coast of Greenland. These Esquimaux were called by them Skrœlingar, or dwarfs, from their diminutive and squalid appearance, in the same manner as their Gothic ancestors had given a similar appellation to the Finns and Laplanders. They found these aborigines deficient in manly courage and bodily strength.

"Erik left another son, named Thorstein, who, having learnt the death of his brother Thorwald, embarked for Vinland with twenty-five companions and his wife Gudrida, principally for the purpose of bringing home the body of his deceased brother. He encountered on his passage contrary winds, and after beating about for some time, was at last driven back to a part of the coast of Greenland, far remote from that where the Northmen colony was established. Here he was compelled to pass the winter, enduring all the hardships of that rigorous season in a high northern latitude, to which was added the misfortune of a contagious disease which broke out amongst the adventurers. Thorstein and the greater part of his companions perished, and Gudrida returned home with his body.

"In the following summer, there came to Greenland from Norway, a man of illustrious birth and great wealth, named Thorfin, who became enamoured of Thorstein's widow Gudrida, and demanded her in marriage of Leif, who had succeeded to the patriarchal authority of his father, Erik the Red. The chieftain determined to effect a settlement in Vinland, and for that purpose formed an association of sixty followers, with whom he agreed to share equally the profits of the enterprise. He took with him all kinds of domestic animals, tools, and provisions to form a permanent colony, and was accompanied by his wife Gudrida, and five other women. He reached the same point of the coast formerly occupied by Leif, where he passed the winter. In the following spring, the Skrœlingar came in great multitudes to trade with the Northmen in peltries and other productions. Thorfin forbade his companions from selling them arms, which were the objects they most passionately desired; and to secure himself against a surprise, he surrounded his huts with a high pallisade. One of the natives seized an axe, and ran off with his prize to his companions. He made the first experiment of his skill in using it by

striking one of his companions, who fell dead on the spot. The natives were seized with terror and astonishment at this result, and one of them, who, by his commanding air and manner seemed to be a chief, took the axe, and after examining it for some time with great attention, threw it indignantly into the sea.

"After a residence of three years in Vinland, Thorfin returned to his native country with specimens of the fruits and peltries which he had collected. After making several voyages, he finished his days in Iceland, where he built a large mansion, and lived in a style of patriarchal hospitality, rivalling the principal chieftains of the country. He had a son named Snorre, who was born in Vinland; and Gudrida, his widow, afterwards made a pilgrimage to Rome, and on her return to Iceland, retired to a convent, situated near a church which had been erected by Thorfin.

"We dwell upon these collateral circumstances, because they serve to confirm the authenticity of the main narratives, by reference to facts and incidents notorious to all the people of Iceland. A part of Thorfin's company still remained in Vinland, and they were afterwards joined by two Icelandic chieftains, named Helgi and Fiombogi, who were brothers, and fitted out an expedition from the Greenland colony. They were persuaded by Freydisa, daughter of Erik the Red, an intriguing and deceitful woman, to permit her to accompany them, and to share in the advantages of the voyage. During her residence in the infant colony, this female fury excited violent dissensions among the settlers, which terminated in the massacre of thirty persons. After this tragic catastrophe, Freydisa returned to her paternal home in Greenland, where she lived and died the object of universal contempt and hatred.*

*Snorre, Saga af Olafi Tryggva Syni, cap. cv—cxii. Torfæi, Hist. Vinlandiæ antiquæ, cap. i.—iii.

"The Eyrbyggja-Saga relates, that towards the close of the reign of King Olaf the Saint,* Gudleif, the son of Gudlaug, made a trading voyage from Iceland to Dublin, and as he was returning along the western coast of Ireland, met with heavy gales from the east and north, which drove him far into the ocean towards the southwest. After many days, Gudleif and his companions saw land in that direction, and approaching the shore, cast anchor in a convenient harbour. Here the natives, who were dark coloured, approached them. The Icelanders did not comprehend the language, though it seemed to them not unlike the Irish tongue. In a short time, a great body of the natives assembled, made the strangers prisoners, and carried them bound into the country. Here they were met by a venerable chieftain, of a noble and commanding aspect and fair complexion, who spoke Icelandic, and inquired after Snorre Gode and other individuals then living in the island. The natives were divided in opinion, whether to put the strangers to death, or to make them slaves, and divide them among the inhabitants. But after some consultation, the white chieftain informed them that they were at liberty to depart, adding his counsel that they should make no delay, as the natives were cruel to strangers. He refused to tell his name, but gave to Gudleif presents, of a gold ring for Snorre's sister Thurida, and a sword for her son. Gudleif returned to Iceland with these gifts, where it was concluded that this person was Bjorn, a famous Skald, who had been a lover of Thurida, and who left Iceland in the year 998.†

"No subsequent traces of the Norman colony in America are to be found until the year 1059, when it is said that an Irish or Saxon priest, named Jon or John, who had preached for some time as a missionary in Iceland, went to Vinland, for the purpose of converting the colonists to Chris-

* St. Olaf died in 1030.

† Muller, Sagabibliothek, tom. i. p. 193.

tianity, where he was murdered by the heathens. A Bishop of Greenland, named Erik, afterwards (1121), undertook the same voyage, for the same purpose, but with what success is uncertain.* The authenticity of the Icelandic accounts of the discovery and settlement of Vinland were recognized in Denmark shortly after this period by King Svend Estrithson, or Sweno II. in a conversation which Adam of Bremen had with this monarch.†"

Mr. Washington Irving, in his Life of Columbus,‡ states that he has not had the means of tracing this story to its original sources. He mentions as the authorities examined by him, Malte-Brun and Forster, the latter of whom extracts it from the Saga or Chronicle of Snorre, who was born in 1179 and wrote in 1215; long after the event is said to have taken place. Mr. Irving observes that as far as he has had experience in tracing these stories of early discoveries of portions of the new world, he has generally found them very confident deductions drawn from very vague and questionable facts. But, he says, "granting the truth of the alleged discoveries, they led to no more result than would the interchange of communication between the natives of Greenland and the Esquimaux. The knowledge of them appears not to have extended beyond their own nation, and to have been soon neglected and forgotten by themselves."

It will be observed that in a note, (*ante*, p. 3,) Mr. Wheaton remarks that supposing the computation of the hours to be correct, the place referred to must

* Munter, Kirchengeshichte von Dænemark und Norwegen, tom. i. p. 562.

† Adam. Brem. de Situ Dan. cap. 246.

‡ New York edition of 1831, vol. 2, p. 270 to 272, Appendix No. xiv.

have been in the latitude of Boston. Mr. Irving, on the other hand, speaks of the sun being eight hours above the horizon on the shortest day, and (referring to Forster's Northern Voyages, b. 2, c. 2,) says, "hence, it has been concluded that the country was about the 49th degree of north latitude, and was either Newfoundland, or some part of the coast of North America about the gulf of St. Lawrence."

There is a tradition that Prince Madoc, the son of Owen Gwyneth, landed upon some part of the American continent in the twelfth century. The tradition is, that after the death of Owen, his sons debating who should succeed him, Madoc left the land in contention, and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by sea; that he sailed west, and leaving the coast of Ireland far north, came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things; that on his return home, he made a relation of the pleasant and fruitful countries he had seen without inhabitants, and alluded on the other hand to the wild and barren ground for which his brethren and nephews did murder one another, and prepared a number of ships and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietness, and taking leave of his friends, made a journey thither again. The story is that Madoc arriving in this western country in 1170, left most of his people there and returning for more of his own nation to inhabit that country, went thither again with ten sails. Hackluyt, in his Collection of Voyages,* and Smith in his History of Virginia,† have mentioned this tradition. It is given by them from a

* Vol. 3, p. 1. † Vol. 1, p. 77 of edi. of 1819.

History (or the Chronicles) of Wales; and at different times, various publications have been made to prove the tradition well founded. But all that we are justified in saying about it is, that there is such a tradition.

Another pretension to an early discovery of the American continent has been set up, founded on an alleged map and narrative of two brothers of the name of Zeno of Venice; but it seems even less valid than those already mentioned. The following is Mr. Irving's statement of this claim:*

"Nicolo Zeno, a noble Venetian, is said to have made a voyage to the north in 1380, in a vessel fitted out at his own cost, intending to visit England and Flanders; but meeting with a terrible tempest, was driven for many days he knew not whither, until he was cast away upon Friseland, an island much in dispute among geographers, but supposed to be the archipelago of the Ferroe islands. The shipwrecked voyagers were assailed by the natives; but rescued by Zichmni, a Prince of the islands, lying on the south side of Friseland, and duke of another district lying over against Scotland. Zeno entered into the service of this prince, and aided him in conquering Friseland, and other northern islands. He was soon joined by his brother Antonio Zeno, who remained fourteen years in those countries.

"During his residence in Friseland, Antonio Zeno wrote to his brother Carlo, in Venice, giving an account of a report brought by a certain fisherman, about a land to the westward. According to the tale of this mariner, he had been one of a party who sailed from Friseland about twenty-six years before, in four fishing boats. Being overtaken by a mighty tempest, they were driven about the sea for

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 272, Appendix No. 14.

many days, until the boat containing himself and six companions was cast upon an island called Estotiland, about one thousand miles from Friseland. They were taken by the inhabitants, and carried to a fair and populous city, where the king sent for many interpreters to converse with them, but none that they could understand, until a man was found, who had likewise been cast away upon the coast, and who spoke Latin. They remained several days upon the island, which was rich and fruitful, abounding with all kinds of metals, and especially gold.* There was a high mountain in the centre, from which flowed four rivers, which watered the whole country. The inhabitants were intelligent, and acquainted with the mechanical arts of Europe. They cultivated grain, made beer, and lived in houses built of stone. There were Latin books in the King's library, though the inhabitants had no knowledge of that language. They had many cities and castles, and carried on a trade with Greenland for pitch, sulphur and peltry. Though much given to navigation, they were ignorant of the use of the compass, and finding the Friselanders acquainted with it, held them in great esteem ; and the King sent them with twelve barks to visit a country to the south, called Drogeo. They had nearly perished in a storm, but were cast away upon the coast of Drogeo. They found the people to be cannibals, and were on the point of being killed and devoured, but were spared on account of their great skill in fishing.

"The fisherman described this Drogeo as being a country of vast extent, or rather a new world ; that the inhabitants were naked and barbarous ; but that far to the southwest there was a more civilized region, and temperate climate, where the inhabitants had a knowledge of gold and

* This account is taken from Hackluyt, vol. 3, p. 123. The passage about gold and other metals is not to be found in the original Italian of Ramusio, (T. 2, p. 23,) and is probably an interpolation.

silver, lived in cities, erected splendid temples to idols, and sacrificed human victims to them, which they afterwards devoured.

"After the fisherman had resided many years on this continent, during which time he had passed from the service of one chieftain to another, and traversed various parts of it, certain boats of Estotiland arrived on the coast of Drogeo. The fisherman went on board of them, acted as interpreter, and followed the train between the mainland and Estotiland for some time, until he became very rich: then he fitted out a bark of his own, and with the assistance of some of the people of the island, made his way back, across the thousand intervening miles of ocean, and arrived safe at Friseland. The account he gave of these countries, determined Zichmni, the Prince of Friseland, to send an expedition thither, and Antonio Zeno was to command it. Just before sailing, the fisherman, who was to have acted as guide, died; but certain mariners, who had accompanied him from Estotiland, were taken in his place. The expedition sailed under command of Zichmni; the Venetian, Zeno, merely accompanied it. It was unsuccessful. After having discovered an island called Icaria, where they met with a rough reception from the inhabitants, and were obliged to withdraw, the ships were driven by a storm to Greenland. No record remains of any further prosecution of the enterprise.

"The countries mentioned in the account of Zeno, were laid down on a map originally engraved on wood. The island of Estotiland, has been supposed by M. Malte-Brun to be Newfoundland; its partially civilized inhabitants, the descendants of the Scandinavian colonists of Vinland; and the Latin books in the King's library to be the remains of the library of the Greenland Bishop, who emigrated thither in 1121. Drogeo, according to the same conjecture, was Nova Scotia and New England. The civilized people to

the southwest, who sacrificed human victims in rich temples, he surmises to have been the Mexicans, or some ancient nation of Florida or Louisiana.

"The premises do not appear to warrant this deduction. The whole story abounds with improbabilities; not the least of which is the civilization prevalent among the inhabitants; their houses of stone, their European arts, the library of their King; no traces of which were to be found on their subsequent discovery. Not to mention the information about Mexico penetrating through the numerous savage tribes of a vast continent, it is proper to observe, that this account was not published until 1558, long after the discovery of Mexico. It was given to the world by Francisco Marcolini, a descendant of the Zeni, from the fragments of letters said to have been written by Antonio Zeno to Carlo his brother. 'It grieves me,' says the editor, 'that the book, and divers other writings concerning these matters, are miserably lost; for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, I tore them and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot call to remembrance but to my exceeding great grief.'*

"This garbled statement by Marcolini, derived considerable authority by being introduced by Abraham Ortelius, an able geographer, in his Theatrum Orbis; but the whole story has been condemned by able commentators as a gross fabrication. Mr. Forster resents this, as an instance of obstinate incredulity, saying that it is impossible to doubt the existence of the country of which Carlo, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno talk; as original acts in the archives of Venice prove that the chevalier undertook a voyage to the north; that his brother Antonio followed him; that Antonio traced a map, which he brought back and hung up in his house, where it remained subject to public examination, until the

* Hackluyt, Collect. vol. 3, p. 127.

time of Marcolini, as an incontestable proof of the truth of what he advanced. Granting all this, it merely proves that Antonio and his brother were at Friseland and Greenland. Their letters never assert that Zeno made the voyage to Estotiland. The fleet was carried by a tempest to Greenland, after which we hear no more of him; and his account of Estotiland and Drogeo rests simply on the tale of the fisherman, after whose descriptions his map must have been conjecturally projected. The whole story resembles much the fables circulated shortly after the discovery of Columbus, to arrogate to other nations and individuals the credit of the achievement."

Mr. Biddle, in his Memoir of Sebastian Cabot,* comments in strong terms upon "that memorable fraud, the pretended voyage of Nicholas and Antonio Zeno." Speaking of an edition of Ramusio, the dedication of which as originally published by Marcolini, bears date December 1558, Mr. Biddle says:

"Ramusio died in July 1557; and of course it is impossible that it could have been published by him, or that he could have marked it for insertion. It does not appear in the Ramusio of 1559, but was interpolated into the second volume in 1574, seventeen years after his death. This circumstance is decisive against its authenticity. Ramusio, a native of Venice, was not only a diligent and anxious collector of voyages, but, it appears by his work, was familiar with the family of the Zeno of that city, and he speaks with pride (ed. of 1559, tom. ii. fol. 65, D.) of the adventurous travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia. Had the materials for such a narrative existed he would have eagerly seized the opportunity of embodying them, and it is plain that the imposture dared not make its appearance in his life-

* P. 322 to 326.

time. Yet, from the subsequent interpolation, this tract, by almost unanimous consent, has been considered to bear the high sanction of Ramusio's name.

"'This,' says Forster (p. 180), 'is the account given of the affair *by Ramusio.*' The Biographie Universelle (art. Zeno) says 'Cette Relation a été reimprimé *par Ramusio.*' And the Quarterly Review (vol. xvi. p. 165, *note,*) speaks of certain things known 'before *Ramusio published* the Letters of the two Zeni.' In short, the misconception has been universal.

"Nor is it merely from the silence of Ramusio that an inference is drawn against this pretended voyage.

"He declares in the Preface to the Third Volume, that he considers it not only proper, but in the nature of a duty, to vindicate the truth in the behalf of Columbus, who was the first to discover and bring to light the New World.*

"He answers in detail the calumny that the project was suggested to Columbus by a Pilot, who died in his house, and refers for a refutation of the idle tale to persons *yet living in Italy*, who were present at the Spanish Court when Columbus departed. He recites the circumstances which had conducted the mind of Columbus, as an able and experienced mariner and Cosmographer, to the conclusion that his project was practicable.

"'Such,' he declares, in conclusion, 'were the circumstances that led to his anxiety to undertake the voyage, having fixed it in his mind, that by going directly west the eastern extremity of the Indies would be discovered.'†

"He breaks into an apostrophe to the rival City of Genoa, which had given birth to Columbus, a fact so much more

* "No pure é convenevole, ma par mi anco di essere obligato a dire alquate parole accompagnate dalla verità per diffesa del Signor Christoforo Colombo, ilqual fu *il primo inventore di discoprire et far venire in luce questa meta del mondo.*"

† "Tutte queste cose lo inducevano á voler far questo viaggio, havendo fisso nell' animo che andando a dritto per Ponente esso troverebbe le parti di Levanti ove sono l'Indie."

glorious than that about which seven of the greatest cities of Greece contended.*

"The full force of this evidence cannot be understood without adverting to the strength of Ramusio's prejudices in favour of his native city. He honestly acknowledges that their influence may mislead him when he is disposed to rank the enterprize of Marco Polo, of Venice, by land, as more memorable than even that of the great Genoese by sea.†

"Yet this is the writer who is said to have given to the world undeniable evidence not only that the Venetian Zeno knew of these regions upwards of a century before the time of Columbus, but that traces had been discovered proving that the Venetians had visited them long before the time of Zeno. And in a work of the present day we have these monstrous assertions:

"They [the Zeni] 'added a Relation which, whether true or false, contained the positive assertion of a continent existing to the west of the Atlantic Ocean. *This Relation was unquestionably known to Columbus.*'‡

"The professed author of the book, Marcolini, was a bookseller and publisher of Venice. It bears his well-known device, of which Dr. Dibdin§ has given a fac-simile.

* "Genoua si vanti et glorii di cosi excellente huomo cittadin suo et mettasi á paragone di quatunque altra citta percioche costui non fu Poeta, come Homero del qual sette citta dell maggiori che havesse la Grecia contesero insieme affermando ciascuna che egli era su Cittadino, ma fu un huomo il quale *ha fatto nascer al mondo un altro mondo* che é effetto incomparabilment molto maggiore del detto di sopra." The terms in which he denounces the effort to disparage Columbus, on the ground of pretended hints from the pilot, assure us of the manner in which he would have treated the subsequent imposture absurdly attributed to himself; "questa favola laqual malitiosamente dopo suo ritorno fu per invidia finta dalla gente bassa et ignorante." Again: "una favola pieno di malignità et di tristitia." He loftily denounces the baseness with which a low envy had seized on and dressed up this tale, "ad approvar la detta favola et dipingerla con mille colori."

† "Et se l'affettione della patria non m'inganna, mi par che per ragion probabile si possa affermare che questo fatto per terra debba esser anteposto à quello di mare," Pref. tom. ii.

‡ Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, History of Maritime and Inland Discovery, vol. i. p. 225.

§ Bibliographical Decameron, vol. ii. p. 244-5. In Singer's learned "Researches

The motive for getting it up is pretty well disclosed in the concluding remarks which allude to the prevailing appetite of the public for such works. It is stated that the slight materials extant had been put together that they might not be altogether lost at a period 'most studious of new narratives, and of the discoveries of strange countries, made by the bold and indefatigable exertions of our ancestors' ('studiosissima delle *Narrationi nuovi* et delle discoperte de paesi non conosciuti fatte dal grande animo et grande industria de i nostri maggiori').

"A full exhibition of the evidence which establishes this production to be a rank imposture, would require more space than can here be justifiably devoted to a topic purely incidental. As it is likely to engage attention, anew, in connexion with the rumoured discoveries in East or Lost Greenland, such a degree of interest may be thrown round it as to warrant, hereafter, in a different form, a detailed examination.

"Reverting to the immediate subject under consideration—the alterations of Ramusio in recent editions—an example occurs in reference to this voyage of the Zeni, which shews not only that new matter has been unwarrantably introduced, but that the text has been corrupted, without hesitation, to suit the purposes of the moment.

"It has been made a charge against Hakluyt, that in translating the work of Marcolini, he has interpolated a passage representing *Estotiland*, the northern part of the new region, as abounding in gold and other metals:

"'In Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, it is added they have mines of all manner of metals, but especially they abound in gold.

into the History of Playing Cards, with Illustrations of the origin of Printing and Engraving on Wood," is an account (p. 64-65) of Marcolini's beautiful volume, entitled *Le Sorti*. "The decorative woodcuts are very numerous, and many of them very beautiful: great numbers of them afterwards served to decorate the *Capriccios* of that odd genius Doni, who seems to have been employed by Marcolini to write some of his whimsical productions as vehicles for these woodcuts."

This passage, however, is not to be found in the Italian original of Ramusio.'*

"The English translator of Forster, referring (p. 189) to the alleged infidelity of Hakluyt, says:

"'From many circumstances, it appears that Hakluyt's collection was made principally with a view to excite his countrymen to prosecute new discoveries in America, and to promote the trade to that quarter of the globe. Considering it in this light, and that hardly any thing was thought worthy of notice in that age but mines of silver and mountains of gold, *we need not wonder at the interpolation!*'

"Thus has Hakluyt been made, alternately, the theme of extravagant eulogium and groundless denunciation! The passage about gold *is* in the original (fol. 52) precisely as he translates it: 'Hanno lingua et lettere separate et cavano *Metalli d'ogni sorte et sopra tutto abondano d'Oro et le lor pratiche sono in Engroneland* di dove traggono pellerecie, &c.' The misconception of later writers is due to a complex piece of roguery running through the several editions of Ramusio.

"The story of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno gains a footing, for the first time, in the second volume of the Venice edition of 1574, of which there is a copy in the library of the British museum. The passage of the original, representing Estotiland to abound in gold, is found there, (fol. 224 A.) But before the next edition came out, the well known result of Frobisher's magnificent hopes was calculated to throw ridicule on such representations. The passage, therefore, disappears from the editions of 1583 and 1606 (fol. 232 A.) The suppression is executed in rather an awkward manner. On turning to the passage indicated of the more recent editions, there will be discovered, at the eleventh line from the top of the page, a chasm in the sense between 'cavano' and 'di dove.' The suppression of the

* Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 189, note.

intermediate words, which are marked in *italics* in our quotation from the original, constitutes the fraud, and renders what remains unintelligible. Hakluyt made his translation from the Ramusio of 1574, and not from the original work of Marcolini. This is evident from the fact, that in his translation, (vol. iii. p. 124,) immediately after the death of Nicolo Zeno, there follows a deduction of descent from him to 'the other Zenos that are living at this day,' of which there is not a syllable in the original (fol. 51), but it is interpolated into the Ramusio of 1574. He escaped the falsification of the edition of 1583, because his translation was made prior to that time, it having appeared in his early work 'Divers Voyages, &c.,' published in 1582. The matter, then, stands thus. Hakluyt followed a vicious copy, but one which had reached only the first stage of depravation. Those who denounce him, merely happen to have got hold of a subsequent edition, which has been further tampered with. Neither party went back to the original, though by no means a rare book; and it is curious that the critics of Hakluyt, while talking of the 'original,' had before them neither the original Marcolini, nor the original Ramusio, nor even, if the expression may be used, the original counterfeit of Ramusio. In this last particular Hakluyt has the advantage over them."

CHAPTER II.

Of Christopher Columbus; his plan for reaching India by a route to the West; the fate of his applications to the Court of Portugal from 1470 to 1484, and afterwards to the Court of Spain till 1492; a squadron then fitted out.

Mr. Irving supposes Christopher Columbus to have been born about 1435 or 1436;* being some ten years earlier than is generally represented. The City of Genoa has the honour of being his birthplace.† He had two brothers, Bartholomew and Diego, and a sister.

Columbus attained manhood at a period worthy of remark. John Guttenberg, the inventor of printing, was yet alive. In consequence of Guttenberg's not attaching any date to his works, we do not know the precise time of his first attempts. But there is little doubt that the works disseminated by means of his invention had the effect of stimulating Columbus to his enterprise. Las Casas thinks that none had more effect in this way than those of Pedro de Aliaco, one of the most learned and scientific men of the day. He was born in 1350, and died in 1416 according to some, in 1425 according to others. When Mr. Irving was in Seville, making researches in the Bibliothica Colombina, the library given to the cathedral of that

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 3; vol. 2, p. 229, 30, Appendix No. 4; also p. 231, Appendix No. 5.

† Id. p. 233, Appendix No. 6.

city by Fernando Columbus, the natural son of Christopher, he saw an old volume in *folio*, bound in parchment, (published soon after the invention of printing,) which had belonged to Christopher Columbus. This volume was a collection in Latin of astronomical and cosmographical tracts of Pedro de Aliaco, and of his disciple John Gerson. Las Casas had spoken of the volume being so familiar to Columbus, that he had filled its whole margin with Latin notes in his handwriting. It was a great satisfaction to Mr. Irving to discover this identical volume, this *Vade Mecum* of Columbus, in a state of good preservation. The notes he says are written in a very small but neat and distinct hand, and call attention to the most striking passages, or to those which bore most upon the theories of Columbus; occasionally containing brief comments, or citing the opinions of other authors, ancient and modern, either in support or contradiction of the text. "This volume," Mr. Irving adds, "is a most curious and interesting document, the only one that remains of Columbus prior to his discovery. It illustrates his researches, and in a manner the current of his thoughts, while as yet his great enterprise existed but in idea, and while he was seeking means to convince the world of its practicability."*

Columbus arrived at Lisbon about 1470, and his marriage there, soon after, fixed him in that city. Prince Henry, so instrumental in promoting discoveries, was no longer living. But a like passion for discovery was evinced by John the Second. His call

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 294-5.

on men of science to devise means by which to give greater scope and certainty to navigation, resulted in the application of the astrolabe; enabling the seaman, by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain its distance from the equator.*

It was immediately after this event that Columbus proposed to King John, if he would furnish him with ships and men, to go to the west across the Atlantic, and thus reach India by a shorter and more direct route than around the coast of Africa. The proposition was referred to a commission of three persons, two of whom were cosmographers; but this scientific body treated the project as visionary. The king, not satisfied, convoked a council composed of the prelates and other persons of learning; but they, too, generally opposed the plan.† Yet Columbus was desired to furnish for the examination of the council, the charts or other documents according to which he intended to shape his course; and a caravel was dispatched for the ostensible purpose of carrying provisions to the Cape de Verd islands, but with private instructions to pursue the route designated in the papers of Columbus. The weather becoming stormy, the pilots had not the resolution to proceed, and returned, ridiculing the project.‡

The wife of Columbus having been for some time dead, he determined now to abandon Portugal. Towards the end of 1484, he departed from Lisbon, taking with him his son Diego.§ About the same time, he engaged his brother Bartholomew to depart to England with proposals to the monarch of that country.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 31. † Id. 34. ‡ Id. 36. § Id.

"It is interesting to notice the first arrival of Columbus in that country, which was to become the scene of his glory, and which he was to render so powerful and illustrious by his discoveries. In this we meet with one of those striking and instructive contrasts which occur in his eventful history. The first trace we have of him in Spain, is in the testimony furnished a few years after his death, in the celebrated law-suit between his son Don Diego and the Crown, by a physician named Garcia Fernandez, from whose deposition we glean the following facts:*

"About half a league from the little seaport of Palos de Moguer in Andalusia there stood, and continues to stand at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars: dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. One day a stranger on foot, in humble guise, but of a distinguished air, accompanied by a small boy, stopped at the gate of the convent, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the prior of the convent, Friar Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger, and observing from his air and accent that he was a foreigner, entered into conversation with him, and soon learnt the particulars of his story. That stranger was Columbus, accompanied by his young son Diego. Where he had come from does not clearly appear;† that he was in destitute circumstances is evident from the mode of his wayfaring: he

* From Irving's Columbus, 1st chapter of his second book, vol. 1, p. 39.

† "Lo Dicho Almirante Colon veniendo á la Rabida, que es un monastério de frailes en esta villa, el qual demandó á la porteria que le diesen para aquel niñico, que era niño, pan i agua que bebiese." The testimony of Garcia Fernandez exists in manuscript among the multifarious writings of the Pleito or law-suit, which are preserved at Seville. I have made use of an authenticated extract, copied for the late historian, Juan Baut. Muñoz. There is a little obscurity in some part of the evidence of Garcia Fernandez. It was given many years after the event. He states Columbus as coming with his infant son from the Castilian court, but he evidently confounds two visits which Columbus made to the convent of La Rabida into one. In making use of his testimony, that confusion has been corrected by comparing it with other well ascertained facts.

was on his way to the neighbouring town of Huelva, to seek his brother-in-law, who had married a sister of his deceased wife.*

"The prior was a man of extensive information. His attention had been turned in some measure to geographical and nautical science, probably from his vicinity to Palos, the inhabitants of which were among the most enterprising navigators of Spain, and made frequent voyages to the recently discovered islands and countries on the African coast. He was greatly interested by the conversation of Columbus, and struck with the grandeur of his views. It was a remarkable occurrence in the monotonous life of the cloister, to have a man of such singular character, intent on so extraordinary an enterprise, applying for bread and water at the gate of his convent. He detained him as his guest, and diffident of his own judgment, sent for a scientific friend to converse with him. That friend was Garcia Fernandez, a physician resident in Palos, the same who furnishes this interesting testimony. Fernandez was equally struck with the appearance and conversation of the stranger. Several conferences took place at the old convent, and the project of Columbus was treated with a deference in the quiet cloisters of La Rabida, which it had in vain sought amidst the bustle and pretension of court sages and philosophers. Hints too were gathered among the veteran mariners of Palos, which seemed to corroborate his theory. One Pedro de Velasco, an old and experienced pilot of the place, affirmed that nearly thirty years before, in the course of a voyage, he was carried by stress of weather so far to the northwest, that Cape Clear in Ireland lay to the east of him. Here, though there was a strong wind blowing from the west, the sea was perfectly smooth; a remarkable circumstance, which he supposed to be produced by land lying

* Probably Pedro Correa, from whom he had received information of signs of land in the west, observed near Puerto Santo.

in that direction. It being late in August, however, he was fearful of the approach of winter, and did not venture to proceed on the discovery.*

"Fray Juan Perez possessed that hearty zeal in friendship, which carries good wishes into good deeds. Being fully persuaded that the proposed enterprise would be of the utmost importance to the country, he offered to give Columbus a favourable introduction to court, and he advised him by all means to repair thither, and make his propositions to the Spanish sovereigns. Juan Perez was on intimate terms with Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado and confessor to the queen, a man high in royal confidence, and possessing great weight in public affairs.† To him he gave Columbus a letter, strongly recommending himself and his enterprise to the patronage of Talavera, and requesting his friendly intercession with the king and queen. As the influence of the church was paramount in the court of Castile, and as Talavera, from his situation as confessor, had the most direct and confidential communication with the queen, every thing was expected from his mediation. In the meantime Fray Juan Perez took charge of the youthful son of Columbus, to maintain and educate him at his convent.

"The zeal of this worthy man, thus early enkindled, never cooled; and many years afterwards, in the day of his success, Columbus looks back, through the brilliant crowd of courtiers, prelates and philosophers, who claimed the honour of having patronized his enterprise, and points to this modest friar as one who had been most effectually its friend. He remained in the convent until the spring of 1486, when the court arrived in the ancient city of Cordova, where the sovereigns intended to assemble their troops and make pre-

* Hist del Almirante, cap. 8.

† Salinas Cron. Franciscana de Peru. L. 1, c. 14. Malendez Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias, L. 1, c. 1.

parations for a spring campaign against the Moorish kingdom of Granada. Elated then, with fresh hopes, and confident of a speedy audience, on the strength of the letter to Fernando de Talavera, Columbus bade farewell to the worthy prior of La Rabida, leaving with him his child, and set out, full of spirits, for the court of Castile."

Columbus lost no time in presenting the letter. The prior of Prado read it, and listened to the explanations of Columbus, but no impression was made on him in favour of the plan, and it is questionable whether at this period it was even mentioned to Ferdinand or Isabella. Certain it is that it was long afterwards before Columbus obtained an audience from either of the sovereigns. While lingering in Cordova, he became attached to a lady of that city, named Beatrix Enriquez. She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, (born in 1487 or 1488,) who became his historian, and whom he always treated on terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son Diego.*

The most efficient friend of Columbus, in this stage of his application, was Alonzo de Quintanillo, comptroller of the finances of Castile, who became a warm advocate of his theory, and received him as a guest into his house. As a means of effectually promoting his interests, he endeavoured to procure for him the patronage of the celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, and Grand Cardinal of Spain. Through the representations of this important personage, Columbus at length obtained admission to the royal presence. In a matter involving so

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 46 to 48; vol. 2, p. 227, Appendix No. 3.

much science, Ferdinand determined to take the opinion of the most learned men in the kingdom. The prior of Prado was commanded to assemble the most learned astronomers and cosmographers, for the purpose of holding a conference with Columbus. The conference took place at the great seat of learning in Spain, at Salamanca, in the convent of St. Stephen. The reasoning of Columbus did not convince a sufficient number: there was further procrastination and neglect.*

It was in vain to seek a quiet and attentive hearing from a court surrounded by the din of arms and continually on the march. Wearied and discouraged by so much delay, Columbus appears to have written to King John the Second. A letter was received in reply, dated the 20th of March 1488, inviting his return to Portugal. Hopes, however, were raised by the conduct of the Spanish sovereigns, which induced him to neglect this invitation.

In the spring of 1489, Columbus was summoned to attend a conference of learned men, to be held in the City of Seville. But the bustle of the campaign prevented the conference then and for some time after. The year 1490 had passed away, and Columbus was still kept in suspense. Wearied at the repeated postponements, he pressed for a decisive reply. A report was at length made by the scientific men to whom the project had been referred, that the scheme was vain and impossible, and ought not to be engaged in by the sovereigns. Yet they were unwilling to close the door upon the project. A message was sent to Co-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 48 to 56.

lumbus that when the war should be concluded, they would treat with him on the subject. On receiving it, he repaired from Cordova to the court at Seville, but obtained no more favourable reply. Still he was reluctant to abandon Spain. At the convent of La Rabida was his son Diego, and in Cordova resided Beatrix Enriquez, and his infant son Fernando.*

Columbus now looked round among the rich and powerful nobility of Spain. His first application was to the Duke of Medina Sidonia; his second to the Duke of Medina Celi. Neither would embark in the undertaking, but the latter advised Columbus to apply once more to the Spanish monarchs, and gave him a letter for Queen Isabella. Averse to the idea of again returning to wait upon the court, Columbus determined to comply with an invitation from the King of France to repair to Paris.†

"Full of this resolution,‡ he departed for the convent of La Rabida, to seek his eldest son Diego, who still remained under the care of his zealous friend Juan Perez, intending to leave him, with his other son, at Cordova.

"When the worthy prior beheld Columbus once more arrive at the gate of his convent, humble in garb and poor in purse as when he first applied there, and found that seven years solicitation at the court had ended in poverty and disappointment, he was greatly moved; but when, on further conversation, he found that the voyager was on the point of abandoning Spain, to seek for patronage in the court of France, and that so important an enterprize was about to be lost forever to the country, the patriotism of the good

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 59 to 63. † Id. p. 63 to 65.
‡ Extracted from same, p. 65 to 67.

friar took the alarm and inspired his ardent spirit with new zeal. He sent in all haste for his scientific intimate and adviser, Garcia Fernandez, the physician of the neighbouring town, and they had further consultations on the scheme of Columbus. He called in, also, to their councils, one Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the head of a family of wealthy and distinguished navigators of Palos, who were celebrated for their practical experience, and their adventurous expeditions. Pinzon gave the plan of Columbus his decided approbation, offering to engage in it with purse and person, and to bear the expenses of Columbus in a renewed application to the court.

"Friar Juan Perez was confirmed in his faith by the concurrence of his learned and his practical counsellors. He had once been confessor to the queen, and knew that she was always accessible to persons of his sacred calling. He proposed to write to her immediately on the subject, and entreated Columbus to delay his journey until an answer could be received. The latter was easily persuaded, for he felt as if in leaving Spain he was again abandoning his home. He was also reluctant to renew, in another court, the vexations and disappointments he had experienced in Spain and Portugal.

"Having agreed to remain, the little council at the convent cast round their eyes for an ambassador to depart upon this momentous mission. They chose one Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe, one of the most shrewd and important personages in this maritime neighbourhood. The queen was at this time at Santa Fé, the military city which had been built in the Vega before Granada, after the conflagration of the royal camp. The honest pilot acquitted himself faithfully, expeditiously and successfully, in his embassy. He found access to the benignant princess, and delivered the epistle of the friar. Isabella had already been favourably disposed to the proposition of Columbus; and

had been further influenced by the correspondence of the Duke of Medina Celi. She wrote in reply to Juan Perez, thanking him for his timely services, and requesting that he would repair immediately to the court, leaving Christopher Columbus in confident hope, until he should hear further from her. This royal letter was brought back by the pilot, at the end of fourteen days, and spread great joy in the little junto at the convent. No sooner did the warm-hearted friar receive it, than he saddled his mule, and departed privately before midnight for the court. He journeyed through the conquered countries of the Moors, and rode into the newly erected city of Santa Fé, where the sovereigns were superintending the close investment of the capital of Granada.

"The sacred office of Juan Perez gained him a ready entrance in a court distinguished for religious zeal; and, once admitted to the presence of the queen, his former relation, as father confessor, gave him great freedom of counsel. He pleaded the cause of Columbus with characteristic enthusiasm, speaking, from actual knowledge, of his honourable motives, his professional knowledge and experience, and his perfect capacity to fulfil the undertaking; he represented the solid principles upon which the enterprise was founded; the advantages that must attend its success; and the glory it must shed upon the Spanish crown.

"It is probable that Isabella had never heard the proposition urged with such honest zeal and impressive eloquence. Being naturally more sanguine and susceptible than the king, and more open to warm and generous impulses, she was moved by the representations of Juan Perez, which were warmly seconded by her favourite the Marchioness of Moya, who entered into the affair with a woman's disinterested enthusiasm.* The queen requested that Columbus might be again sent to her; and with the kind considerate-

* Retrato del Buen Vassallo, L. 2, cap. 16.

ness which characterized her, bethinking herself of his poverty and his humble plight, ordered that twenty thousand maravedis* in florins, should be forwarded to him, to bear his travelling expenses, to provide him with a mule for his journey, and to furnish him with decent raiment, that he might make a respectable appearance at the court.

"The worthy friar lost no time in communicating the result of his mission; he transmitted the money, and a letter, by the hands of an inhabitant of Palos, to the physician Garcia Fernandez, who delivered them to Columbus. The latter complied with the instructions conveyed in the epistle. He exchanged his threadbare garb for one more suited to the sphere of a court, and purchasing a mule, set out once more, reanimated by hope, for the camp before Granada."†

Columbus arrived in time to witness the memorable surrender of Granada to the Spanish arms. The monarchs could now attend to his proposals. He required that he should be invested with the title and privileges of admiral and viceroy over the countries he should discover, with one tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest. One of the courtiers observing that by this arrangement he would secure the honour of a command, without any loss in case of failure, Columbus replied by offering to furnish an eighth of the cost, on condition of enjoying an eighth of the profits. His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible. Others were offered him, but he decided to abandon Spain forever, rather than compromise his

* Or seventy-two dollars—equivalent to two hundred and sixteen dollars of the present day.

† Most of the particulars of this second visit of Columbus to the convent of La Rabida, are from the testimony rendered by Garcia Fernandez in the law suit between Diego, the son of Columbus, and the crown.

demands. Mounting his mule, he sallied forth from Santa Fé in the beginning of February 1492 on his way to Cordova, whence he intended to depart immediately for France. His departure was greatly deplored by a few friends who were zealous believers in his theory. One of these was Luis de St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon. Obtaining an audience of the queen, he vindicated the judgment of Columbus, and the soundness and practicability of his plans. Isabella declared in favour of the enterprise. The king was averse to the measure when the royal finances were drained by the war. But the queen of Castile undertook it for her own crown, and expressed herself willing to pledge her private jewels to raise the necessary funds. St. Angel assured her there would be no need of this.*

Columbus had reached the bridge of Pinos about two leagues from Granada, at the foot of the mountain of Elvira, when he was overtaken by a courier from the queen. On being told of the promise she had given, he hastened back with alacrity to Santa Fé, and had from her an immediate audience. A perfect understanding was now had with the sovereigns. The stipulations were signed by them on the 17th of April 1492, a commission was issued to Columbus on the 30th of that month, and the queen on the 8th of May appointed his son Diego page to Prince Juan, the heir apparent, with an allowance for his support. Columbus took leave of the court on the 12th of May, and set out for Palos de Moguer in Andalusia, the port from which the armament was to be fitted out. He

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 67 to 71.

was received with open arms by the worthy prior of the convent of La Rabida, and was his guest during his sojourn at Palos. There was extreme dread of the undertaking, even in this maritime community, and great difficulty was experienced in procuring vessels and seamen. At length Martin Alonzo Pinzon and his brother Vincent Yañez Pinzon, navigators of distinction, who possessed vessels and had seamen in their employ, took a decided and personal interest in the expedition; and through their exertions the vessels were ready for sea by the beginning of August. They were three in number, all small and only one of of them decked. Columbus hoisted his flag on the largest called the Santa Maria. The others were commanded each by one of the Pinzons. There were on board the three, one hundred and twenty persons in all.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol 1, p. 71 to 79.

CHAPTER III.

Of the first Voyage of Columbus to the West; his departure on the 3d of August 1492; discovery of land in the West Indias on the 12th of October in that year; and return to Spain in March 1493.

It was on Friday, the 3d of August 1492,* early in the morning, that Columbus set sail from the bar of Saltes, a small island formed by the arms of the Odril, in front of the town of Huelva. He steered for the Canary islands, whence it was his intention to sail due west until he should arrive at the Indias, when he was to proceed to deliver the letters given him for the Grand Khan of Tartary. On the 9th he came in sight of the Canaries, where he was detained upwards of three weeks, during which time two of the vessels underwent some repairs. He sailed from Gomera on the 6th of September, and on the 9th beheld Fuso, the last of the Canaries. On the 13th, about two hundred leagues from Fuso, he noticed for the first time the variation of the needle: instead of pointing to the north star, it varied at night fall about half a point, or between five and six degrees to the northwest, and still more on the following morning: the variation increased as he advanced. On the 14th the voyagers were rejoiced by the sight of a heron and a tropical bird called the *Rabo de Janco*, harbingers of land. Now they began to see herbs and weeds drifting from

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 71 to 79.

the west, and increasing in quantity as they advanced. But several weeks still elapsed without seeing any land. Columbus having now come more than seven hundred leagues since leaving the Canaries, Martin Alonzo Pinzon began to lose confidence in the course west, and proposed that they should stand more to the southward. Columbus observing great flights of small birds going southwest, determined on the evening of the 7th of October, to alter his course to the west southwest, the direction in which the birds generally flew. For three days they stood in this direction, and the signs were encouraging. But when on the evening of the third day the sun went down upon a shoreless horizon, the crews broke forth into turbulent clamour. They insisted on turning homeward, and abandoning the voyage as hopeless. Columbus notwithstanding declared his purpose to persevere until he should accomplish the enterprise. At open defiance with his crew, his situation would have been desperate, had not the manifestations of land been such on the following day (the 11th,) as no longer to admit of doubt. That night not an eye was closed. Columbus took his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, and maintained an unremitting watch. Once or twice during the night he saw a light which he considered as a sign of land, and that it was inhabited. At two in the morning a gun from the Pinta (commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon,) gave the joyful signal. The land was now clearly seen about two leagues distant: they took in sail, and laid to, waiting impatiently for the dawn.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. I, p. 82 to 101.

When, as the morning dawned, objects gradually became visible, Columbus beheld before him a level and beautiful island, several leagues in extent, the inhabitants of which were seen naked, running to the shore to gaze at the ships. The boats were soon manned, and a landing effected. Columbus knelt and offered up a prayer of thanksgiving, in which the rest joined. Then rising and drawing his sword, he took possession in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. It has been generally supposed that one of the Bahama islands, called by the natives Guanahani, and since called San Salvador, and also known as Cat island, was the spot where Columbus first set foot upon the new world. Don Martin Navarette, in the introduction to his "Collection of Spanish Voyages and Discoveries," published at Madrid in 1826, having endeavoured to shew that the place must have been Turk's island, Mr. Irving examined this opinion, and came to the conclusion that the world may remain in its old hereditary belief that the present island of San Salvador is the spot.*

It was on Friday, the 12th of October, that this landing took place. The crew thronged around the admiral in their overflowing zeal.

"Some" (continues Mr. Irving,†) "embraced him, others kissed his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage, were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favours of him, as of a man who had already wealth and honours in his gift. Many abject spirits, who had outraged him by their inso-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 102, 3; vol. 2, p. 280 to 288, Appendix No. 17.
† Id. vol. 1, p. 103 to 105.

lence, now crouched as it were at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble they had caused him, and offering for the future the blindest obedience to his commands.*

"The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships, with their sails set, hovering on their coast, had supposed them some monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They had crowded to the beach, and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their veering about, apparently without effort; the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld the boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colours, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to their woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue, or molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe; frequently prostrating themselves on the earth, and making signs of adoration. During the ceremonies of taking possession, they remained gazing in timid admiration at the complexion, the beards, the shining armour and splendid dresses of the Spaniards. The admiral particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the deference which was paid him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander.† When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus, pleased with their simplicity, their gentleness, and the confidence they reposed in beings who must have appeared to them so strange and formidable, suffered their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence. The wondering savages were won by this benignity; they now supposed

* Oviedo, L. 1, cap. 6. Las Casas, Hist. Ind. L. 1, c. 40. † Las Casas, ubi sup.

that the ships had sailed out of the crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or that they had descended from above on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.*

"The natives of the island were no less objects of curiosity to the Spaniards, differing as they did from any race of men they had ever seen. Their appearance gave no promise of either wealth or civilization, for they were entirely naked, and painted with a variety of colours. With some it was confined merely to a part of the face, the nose, or around the eyes; with others it extended to the whole body, and gave them a wild and fantastic appearance. Their complexion was of a tawny or copper hue, and they were entirely destitute of beards. Their hair was not crisped like the recently discovered tribes of the African coast, under the same latitude, but straight and coarse, partly cut short above the ears, but some locks left long behind, and falling upon their shoulders. Their features, though obscured and disfigured by paint, were agreeable; they had lofty foreheads and remarkably fine eyes. They were of moderate stature, and well shaped; most of them appeared to be under thirty years of age; there was but one female with them, quite young, naked like her companions, and beautifully formed.

"As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted, before the true nature of his discovery was known, and has ever since been extended to all the aboriginals of the new world."

* The idea that the white men came from heaven was universally entertained by the inhabitants of the new world. When in the course of subsequent voyages, the Spaniards conversed with the Cacique Nicaragua, he inquired how they came down from the skies, whether flying, or whether they descended on clouds. Herrera, Decad. 3, L. 4, c. 5.

Columbus, after reconnoitering San Salvador, cruised among others of the Bahama islands. To one he gave the name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion; to another the name of Fernandina, this is now called Exuma. Then he went to an island called Isabella by him, and since called Isla Larga and Exumeta. Afterwards he touched at a group of seven or eight small islands, which he called Isles de Arena, supposed to be the present Mucaras islands, and crossing the Bahama bank and channel, arrived on the morning of the 28th of October in sight of the island of Cuba. The part which he first discovered is supposed to be the coast to the west of Nuevitas del Principe. He anchored in a beautiful river, to which he gave the name of San Salvador; and to the island he gave the name of Juana, in honour of Prince Juan. Landing occasionally, he visited several villages, particularly one on the banks of a large river, to which he gave the name of Rio de Mares. It is now called Savannah la Mar. After standing to the northwest, he came in sight of a headland, to which, from the groves with which it was covered, he gave the name of the Cape of Palms. It forms the eastern entrance to what is now known as Laguna de Moron. Afterwards he put back to the Rio de Mares, and sent two Spaniards (with two Indians as guides) on a mission to the chieftain, in the interior of the island.*

* On their way back, they, for the first time, witnessed the use of a weed, which the ingenious caprice of man has since converted into an universal luxury, in defiance of the

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 205 to 222.

opposition of the senses. They beheld several of the natives going about with fire-brands in their hands, and certain dried herbs, which they rolled up in a leaf, and lighting one end, put the other end in their mouths, and continued exhaling and puffing out the smoke. A roll of this kind they called a tobacco, a name since transferred to the plant of which the rolls were made. The Spaniards, although prepared to meet with wonders, were struck with astonishment at their singular and apparently nauseous indulgence."*

On the 12th of November Columbus, taking several of the natives of both sexes to carry with him to Spain, turned his course to the east southeast. He gave to a cape which he passed, the name of Cape Cuba, and anchored in a harbour which he called Puerto del Principe. He passed a few days exploring an archipelago of small but beautiful islands, since known as El Jardin del Rey, or the King's Garden; and named the gulf, studded with them, the sea of Nuestra Senora. On the 19th, he again put to sea, but the wind blowing from the quarter to which he wished to steer, and the sea being rough, he determined to return to Cuba, and made signals to his companions to do the same. The Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, had by this time worked a considerable distance to the eastward. It failed to attend to his signals, and the next morning was out of sight. Columbus was exceedingly indignant at this apparent desertion, but not knowing what course Pinzon would steer, went back with the remaining ships. On the 24th, he regained Point Cuba, and anchored

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 122.

in a harbour formed by the mouth of a river, to which he gave the name of St. Catharine. He continued for several days coasting the residue of Cuba, and reached its eastern end the 5th of December.*

While steering at large, beyond the eastern extremity of Cuba, Columbus descried land to the south-east. The beautiful island of Hayti revealed itself to the eye. In the evening of the 6th of December, Columbus entered a harbour at the western end of the island, to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas, by which it is still called. Leaving this harbour on the 7th, he coasted along the northern side of the island. For several days he was detained in a harbour which he called Fort Conception. The admiral fancied the features of the surrounding country resembled those of the more beautiful provinces of Spain, and named the island Hispaniola. He visited an island lying opposite the harbour of Conception, to which, from its abounding in turtle, he gave the name of Tortugas. To one of its valleys, he gave the name of Valle de Pariso, or the vale of Paradise; and he called a fine stream the Guadalquiver. Setting sail on the 16th of December, at midnight, he steered again for Hispaniola, and anchored near a village on its coast, at present known as Puerto de Paz. On the evening of the 20th, he anchored in a fine harbour, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, supposed to be what at present is called the Bay of Acúl. On the 22d, a message was received from a grand cacique, named Guacanagari, begging that the ships might come opposite to his residence. The wind prevent-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 122 to 129.

ing an immediate compliance, the admiral sent the notary, with several of the crew, to visit him at his residence, in a town then called Puerta Santa, now Point Honorata. They were received with great honour, and brought back many presents to the admiral.*

On the morning of the 24th of December, Columbus steered to the eastward, with the intention of anchoring at the harbour of this cacique. On the way, owing to neglect of duty of the steersman, his vessel was shipwrecked in the night, and the admiral and his men took refuge on board the caravel of Vicente Yañez Pinzon. When the cacique heard of this misfortune, he immediately sent all his people with all the canoes, large and small, that could be mustered; and so active were they, in their assistance, that in a little while the vessel was unloaded. Never, in any civilized country, were the vaunted rights of hospitality more scrupulously observed than by this uncultured savage. Men of the present day, who inhabit the Atlantic coast of North America, with all the aid that Christianity gives them, may be improved by following his example. All the effects landed from the ship were deposited near his dwelling, and an armed guard surrounded them all night, until houses could be prepared, in which to store them. Yet there seemed, even among the common people, no disposition to take advantage of the misfortune of the strangers. Without going through the Christian form of prayer, the conduct of these people to Columbus, enabled

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 129 to 137.

him to say of them that they loved their neighbours as themselves.*

The solicitude expressed by many of his people to be left behind, added to the friendly and pacific character of the natives, suggested to Columbus the idea of forming the germ of a future colony. The wreck of his vessel afforded abundant materials to construct a fortress. So great was the activity of the Spaniards in its construction, and so ample the assistance rendered by the natives, that in ten days it was sufficiently complete for service. A large vault had been made, over which was erected a strong wooden tower, and the whole was surrounded by a wide ditch. It was stored with all the ammunitions that had been saved from the wreck or that could be spared from the caravel; and the guns being mounted, the whole had a formidable aspect. Columbus gave to the fortress, as well as to the adjacent village and the harbour, the name of La Navidad, or the Nativity, in memorial of their having escaped from shipwreck on Christmas day. There were many volunteers to remain on the island; from whom he selected thirty-nine, the command of whom was given to Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, and notary and alguazil to the armament. In case of death, he was to be succeeded by Pedro Gutierrez, and he dying, by Rodrigo de Escobedo.†

It was on the 4th of January 1493, that Columbus set sail from La Navidad, on his return to Spain. He stood eastward, towards a lofty promontory, to which he gave the name of Monte Christi, by which it is

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 137 to 144. † Id. 145 to 151.

still known. On the 6th, having weathered the cape and advanced ten leagues, the Pinta was seen. There being an adverse wind, and no safe anchorage in the neighbourhood, the admiral put back to the bay, a little west of Monte Christi, whither he was followed by the Pinta. When Martin Alonzo Pinzon came on board of the admiral's vessel, he was agitated and confused. Columbus was not at all satisfied with his account; and, from subsequent information, became convinced that Pinzon had deserted him from a selfish and mercenary motive; *that* of first getting to a golden region, of which he heard, (from one of the Indians on board of his vessel,) and making a fortune. In searching for this land of imaginary wealth, he was entangled for some time among a cluster of small islands, supposed to have been the Caicos; after which, he went to Hispaniola. Here, in trading with the natives, he collected a quantity of gold, of which he retained half for himself, and divided the rest among his men. Though he received intelligence of the shipwreck of the admiral, he had delayed sailing to his assistance, to amass more booty.*

On being rejoined by the Pinta, Columbus would have been encouraged to continue his voyage along the coast, but for his loss of confidence in the Pinzons. This decided him to hasten to Spain, and release himself from his connexion with them. The boats now took in a supply of wood and water, at a river called by the natives the Yagui, to which Columbus gave the name of Rio del Oro, or the Golden River. It is now called the Santiago. They again

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 152 to 154.

sailed on the evening of the 9th of January, and arrived next day at a river where Pinzon had been trading. To this Columbus gave the name of Rio de Gracia, but it took the appellation of its original discoverer, and was long known as the river of Martin Alonzo. Here the natives complained that Pinzon had violently carried off four men and two girls. The admiral finding they were on board the Pinta, to be carried to Spain and sold as slaves, ordered that they should be immediately restored to their homes, well clothed, and with many presents, to atone for the wrong they had experienced, and to prevent its prejudicing the natives against the Spaniards. This restitution was made with great unwillingness and many high words on the part of Pinzon.*

Columbus coasted the island until he came to a high and beautiful headland, to which he gave the name of Cape del Enamorado, or the Lover's Cape, but which is now known as Cape Cabron. A little beyond, he anchored in a vast bay or gulf, three leagues in breadth, and extending far inland. On this bay was the first contest had with the Indians; the first time that native blood was shed by the white men in the new world. The tribe was the Ciguayans, a bold and hardy race extending twenty-five leagues along the coast, and several leagues into the interior. In consequence of the skirmish with them, Columbus gave to the bay the name of Golfo de las Fleches or the Gulf of Arrows, but it is now known by the name of the Gulf of Samaná. Notwithstanding the skirmish, the chieftain and some of his attendants visited

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 154, 5.

the caravel next day in amity. A friendly intercourse afterwards prevailed with the natives while Columbus remained in the bay. And four young Indians agreed to accompany him as guides to some islands lying to the east, of which they gave interesting accounts. He sailed from the bay on the 16th of January, and steered at first to the northeast, but after going about sixteen leagues his Indian guides changed their opinion and pointed to the southeast. The admiral had not proceeded two leagues in this direction, when a most favourable breeze sprang up for the voyage to Spain. The gloom on the countenances of the sailors increasing as they diverged from the homeward route, Columbus repressed his inclination for farther discoveries, and once more shifting sail, to the great joy of the crews, resumed his course for Spain.*

The favourable breeze soon died away, and for the remainder of January no great progress was made. In the early part of February, having run to about the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude, they began to have more favourable breezes, and were enabled to steer direct for Spain. On the 13th there was a violent tempest, which continued till the night of the 14th. In the darkness of the night the Pinta was lost sight of. On the morning of the 15th an island was seen by those on board the Niña; and on the morning of the 18th, they were enabled to anchor on its northern side. The island was St. Mary's, the most southern of the Azores, and a possession of the crown of Portugal, whose king, it appeared, jealous lest the expedition of Columbus might interfere with his own

* Irving's Columbus, vol. I, p. 155 to 159.

discoveries, had given orders for his seizure and detention, wherever he should be met with. In consequence of these orders, half the men of Columbus were taken while on land, and for a time detained. After their restoration, he set sail on the 24th of February, and again encountered violent storms. At day break on the 4th of March, they found themselves off the rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus. Though distrusting Portugal, the prevailing tempest left Columbus no alternative but to go in for shelter, and he accordingly anchored about 3 o'clock, opposite to Rastello.*

Immediately on his arrival, Columbus dispatched a courier to the King and Queen of Spain, with the great tidings of his discovery. He wrote also to the King of Portugal, who was then at Valparaiso. On the 8th of March a cavalier came with a letter from King John, congratulating Columbus on his arrival, and inviting him to court. His reception by that monarch was worthy of an enlightened prince. Columbus after being treated with distinguished attention, was escorted back to his ship by a numerous train of cavaliers; stopping on his way back at the monastery of St. Antonio, at Villa Franca, to visit the queen, who had expressed an earnest wish to see him. Putting to sea on the 13th of March, he arrived safely at the bar of Saltes about sunrise of the 15th, and at mid-day entered the harbour of Palos. The triumphant return of Columbus was a prodigious event in the history of this little port. The whole community broke forth into transports of joy. Columbus dis-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 159 to 168.

patched hence a letter to the king and queen at Barcelona, and soon after departed for Seville to await their orders, taking with him six of the natives whom he had brought from the new world. One had died at sea, and three were left ill at Palos. It is a singular coincidence, that on the very evening of the arrival of Columbus at Palos, the Pinta likewise entered the river. After her separation from the admiral, she had been driven into the bay of Biscay, and made the port of Bayonne. Anxious to secure the favourable prepossessions of the court and the public, Martin Alonzo Pinzon had immediately written to the sovereigns, giving information of the discovery he had made. When on entering the harbour of Palos, he beheld the vessel of the admiral riding at anchor, and learnt the enthusiasm with which he had been received, the heart of Pinzon died within him. In a few days he sank into the grave.*

The letter of Columbus to the Spanish monarchs announcing his discovery, had produced the greatest sensation at court. Shortly after arriving in Seville, Columbus received a letter from them, expressing their great delight, and requesting him to repair immediately to court to concert plans for a second and more extensive expedition. He set out soon for Barcelona, taking with him the six Indians and other curiosities brought from the new world. His journey was like that of a sovereign. About the middle of April he arrived at Barcelona, and there had a most gratifying reception both from the court and the people. Notwithstanding the universal enthusiasm,

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 169 to 176.

however, no one was yet aware of the real importance of the discovery. It was still supposed that Cuba was the end of the Asiatic continent, and that the adjacent islands were in the Indian seas; and therefore the lands which he had visited were called the West Indias: yet as he seemed to have entered upon a vast region of unexplored countries, existing in a state of nature, the whole received the comprehensive appellation of "The New World."*

Next to the countenance shewn Columbus by the king and queen, may be mentioned that of Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, the first subject of the realm; a man whose elevated character gave value to his favours. He invited Columbus to a feast, where he assigned him the most honourable place at table. At this repast is said to have occurred the anecdote of the egg. A courtier present, impatient perhaps of the honours paid to Columbus, asked him whether he thought that in case he had not discovered the Indias, there were not other men in Spain who would have been capable of the enterprise? Columbus made no immediate reply, but, taking an egg, invited the company to make it stand upon one end. Every one attempted it, but in vain. Whereupon Columbus struck the egg upon the table so as to break the end, and left it standing on the broken part; illustrating in this simple manner, that when he had once shewn the way to the new world, nothing was easier than to follow it.†

The six Indians whom Columbus had brought to Barcelona, were baptized with great state and cere-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 177 to 182. † Id. p. 183, 4.

mony; the king, the queen and Prince Juan officiating as sponsors. Great hopes were entertained that on their return to their native country they would facilitate the introduction of christianity among their countrymen. One of them, at the request of Prince Juan, remained in his household, but died not long afterwards. A Spanish historian remarks, that according to what is called christian belief, he was the first of his nation that entered Heaven?*

During the year 1493, three editions were printed of the letter of Columbus to Gabriel Sanchez, treasurer of Spain, giving an account of his discovery. The general interest which it excited is strongly evidenced by this fact. Another example of a work printed three times in the same year, can scarcely be found in the fifteenth century.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 190.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the second Voyage of Columbus; discovery of other isles in 1493 and 1494; settlement at La Navidad destroyed; and City of Isabella built.

After receiving every mark of honour and regard, Columbus took leave of the sovereigns on the 28th of May 1493. He arrived at Seville the beginning of June, and proceeded with all diligence to fit out the armament. On the 25th of September, the bay of Cadiz was whitened by his fleet, consisting of three large ships of heavy burthen and fourteen caravels. The two sons of Columbus, Diego and Fernando, witnessed the departure of their father.*

Columbus arrived at the Canaries on the 1st of October. By the 24th he had made four hundred and fifty leagues west of Gomera. On the morning of the 3d of November, a lofty island was descried to the west, to which he gave the name of Dominica, from its being discovered on Sunday. Other islands rose into sight, one after another. These were a part of the beautiful cluster, called by some the Antilles, which sweep almost in a semi-circle, from the eastern end of Porto Rico to the coast of Paria, on the southern continent, forming a kind of barrier between the main ocean and the Caribbean sea. To one of these islands he gave the name of his ship,

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 191 to 202.

Marigalante; to another the name of Guadaloupe. On this the Spaniards landed the 4th of November, and met for the first time with the delicious pine apple.*

Continuing along this beautiful archipelago, Columbus gave names to its islands as they successively rose to view; Montserrat, Santa Maria la Redonda, Santa Maria la Antigua and San Martin. Other lands to the north he forbore to visit. On the 14th of November he anchored at an island which the Indians called Ayay, and to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz. Here there was a skirmish with the natives. Pursuing his voyage, Columbus soon came in sight of a great cluster of islands: to the largest he gave the name of Santa Ursula; and he called the others the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He arrived afterwards at a great island called by the natives Boriquen: to this he gave the name of St. Juan Bautista; it is since known by the name of Porto Rico. After remaining here two days, Columbus sailed for Hispaniola.†

On the 22d of November the fleet arrived at the eastern extremity of this island. At the gulf of Samana he set on shore one of the young Indians who had been to Spain. Favourable effects were anticipated from his representations to his countrymen, but he was neither seen nor heard of again. One Indian of those who had been to Spain remained in the fleet; a native of the island of Guanahani, named after the admiral's brother, Diego Colon. He continued faithful to the Spaniards. Columbus anchored

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 202 to 210. † Id. 211 to 215.

on the 25th in the harbour of Monte Christi, and on the evening of the 27th near La Navidad. Two cannon were fired, but there was no reply. About midnight a canoe approached with Indians. One of them was a cousin of the cacique Guacanagari, and brought the admiral a present from him. The account of this messenger (as well as it could be gathered,) was, that several of the Spaniards had died of sickness, and others fallen in a quarrel among themselves: and the rest had removed to a different part of the island: and that another cacique had wounded Guacanagari in battle, and burnt his village. Next day Columbus sent a boat to the shore to reconnoitre. The crew found the fortress a burnt ruin; the pallisadoes beaten down; and the whole presenting the appearance of having been sacked and destroyed. They returned with dejected hearts to the ships, and related to the admiral what they had seen. Columbus was greatly troubled at this intelligence, and, the fleet having now anchored in the harbour, went himself to shore on the following morning. In the course of the day a number of the Indians began to make their appearance. Some of them could speak a few words of Spanish, and knew the names of all the men who had remained with Arana. By this means, and by the aid of the Indian named Diego Colon as interpreter, the story of the garrison was in some measure ascertained.*

"No sooner had the departing sail of the admiral faded from their sight, than all his counsels and commands died

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 216 to 221. The extract which follows is from p. 221 to 223.

away from their minds. Though a mere handful of men, surrounded by savage tribes, and dependent upon their own prudence and good conduct, and upon the good will of the natives, for very existence, yet they soon began to indulge in the most wanton abuses. Some were incited by rapacious avarice, and, in their eagerness to amass private hoards of wealth, possessed themselves, by all kinds of wrongful means, of the golden ornaments and other valuable property of the natives. Others sinned through gross sensuality. Two or three wives had been allotted to each by the Cacique Guacanagari, yet, not content with this liberal allowance, they invaded the domestic tranquillity of the Indians, and seduced from them their wives and daughters. Fierce brawls incessantly occurred among themselves about their ill-gotten spoils, or the favours of the Indian beauties; and the simple natives beheld with astonishment the beings whom they had worshipped as descended from the skies, abandoned to the grossest of earthly passions, and raging against each other with worse than brutal ferocity.

"Still these dissensions might not have been very dangerous had they observed one of the grand injunctions of Columbus, and kept together in the fortress, maintaining military vigilance; but all precaution of the kind was soon forgotten. In vain did Don Diego de Arana interpose his authority; in vain did every inducement present itself which could bind man and man together in a foreign land. All order, all subordination, all unanimity, was at an end. Many of them abandoned the fortress, and lived carelessly and at random about the neighbourhood; every one was for himself, or associated with some little knot of confederates to injure and despoil the rest. Thus factions broke out among them, until ambition arose to complete the destruction of their mimic empire. The two persons, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo, whom Columbus had left as lieutenants to the commander, to succeed him in case

of accident, now took advantage of these disorders and aspired to an equal share in the authority, if not to the supreme control.* Violent affrays succeeded, in which a Spaniard by the name of Jacomo was killed. Having failed in their object, Gutierrez and Escobedo withdrew from the fortress, with nine of their adherents, and a number of their women; and, still bent on command, now turned their thoughts on distant enterprise. Having heard marvellous accounts of the mines of Cibao, and the golden sands of its mountain rivers, they set off for that district, flushed with the thoughts of amassing immense treasure. Thus they disregarded another strong injunction of Columbus, which was to keep within the friendly territories of Guacanagari. The region to which they repaired was in the interior of the island, within the province of Maguana, ruled by the famous Caonabo, called by the Spaniards the Lord of the Golden House. This renowned chieftain was a Carib by birth, possessing the fierceness and the enterprise of his nation. He had come an adventurer to the island, and had acquired such ascendancy over these simple and unwarlike people by his courage and address, that he had made himself the most potent of their caciques. His warlike exploits were renowned throughout the island, and the inhabitants universally stood in awe of him for his Carib origin.

"Caonabo had for some time maintained paramount importance in the island; he was the hero of this savage world, when the ships of the white men suddenly appeared upon its shores. The wonderful accounts of their power and prowess had reached him among his mountains, and he had the shrewdness to perceive that his own consequence must decline before such formidable intruders. The departure of Columbus had revived his hopes that their in-

* Oviedo, Hist. Ind. L. 2, c. 12.

trusion would be but temporary. The discords and excesses of those who remained, while they moved his detestation, inspired him with increasing confidence. No sooner, therefore, did Gutierrez and Escobedo, with their companions, take refuge in his dominions, than he considered himself secure of a triumph over these detested strangers. He seized upon the fugitives and put them instantly to death. He then assembled his subjects privately; and, concerting his plans with the cacique of Marien, whose territories adjoined those of Guacanagari on the west, he determined to make a sudden attack upon the fortress. Emerging from among the mountains, and traversing great tracts of forests with profound secrecy, he arrived with his army in the vicinity of the village, without being discovered. Confiding in the gentle and pacific nature of the Indians, the Spaniards had neglected all military precautions, and lived in the most careless security. But ten men remained in the fortress with Arana, and these do not appear to have maintained any guard. The rest were quartered in houses in the neighbourhood. In the dead of the night, when all were wrapt in unsuspecting repose, Caonabo and his warriors burst upon the place with frightful yells; got possession of the fortress before the inmates could put themselves upon their defence, and surrounded and set fire to the houses in which the rest of the white men were sleeping. The Spaniards were completely taken by surprise. Eight of them fled to the sea side, pursued by the savages, and rushing into the waves for safety, were drowned; the rest were massacred. Guacanagari and his subjects fought faithfully in defence of their guests; but not being of a warlike character, they were easily routed; Guacanagari was wounded in the combat by the hand of Caonabo, and his village was burnt to the ground."*

* Herrera, Hist. Ind. Decad. 1, Lib. 2, c. 9. Letter of Dr. Chanca. Peter Martyr, Decad. 1, Lib. 2. Hist. del Almirante, c. 49. Cura de los Palacios, c. 120. MS. Muñoz, Hist. N. Mundo, L. 4.

Columbus weighed anchor on the 7th of December. Being obliged by the weather to put into a harbour about ten leagues east of Monte Christi, he was struck with its advantages. Here he founded the first christian city of the New World, and gave to it the name of Isabella. He dispatched to Spain twelve of the ships under the command of Antonio de Torres; retaining only five for the colony. The ships put to sea the 22d of February 1494. In them were sent some men, women and children, taken in the Caribbee islands; it was recommended that they should be instructed in the Spanish language and the christian faith.*

In the mountains, about eighteen leagues from Isabella, Columbus caused a fortress to be erected, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas. Here leaving Pedro Margarite in command, with a garrison of fifty-six men, he returned to Isabella on the 29th of March. A message was soon received from the fortress, that the Indians had manifested unfriendly feelings. Columbus sent a reinforcement and also provisions and ammunition. What, however, gave him most anxiety was the sickness, discontent and dejection which seemed to increase in the settlement. Besides intermittent fevers and other maladies trying to European constitutions in the tropics, many of the Spaniards suffered under the torments of a disease hitherto unknown to them; the scourge, as was supposed, of their licentious intercourse with the Indian females, but the origin of which, whether American or European, has been a subject of great dispute.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. I, p. 230 to 235.

Having taken such measures as seemed to him best, and left behind a president and council to administer affairs in his absence, Columbus took three caravels and proceeded on an exploring voyage. He set sail the 24th of April and steered westward. After touching at Monte Christi and La Navidad, he arrived on the 29th at the port of St. Nicholas, whence he beheld the extreme point of Cuba.*

Columbus sailed along the southern coast of Cuba twenty leagues, when he anchored in a harbour, to which, from its size, he gave the name of Puerto Grande, at present called Guantanamo. Then he continued westward and came to a harbour, which, it is probable, was the same at present called St. Jago de Cuba. On the 3d of May, after standing westward to a high cape, he turned south. He had not sailed many leagues before the blue summits of a vast and lofty island began to rise. He anchored in a harbour about the centre, to which he gave the name of Santa Gloria, and then coasted westward a few leagues to a harbour which he called Puerto Buene. Here there was a rencontre, in which, for the first time, a dog was used against the natives. To this island, Columbus gave the name of Santiago, but it has retained its original Indian name of Jamaica. After coasting it westward about twenty-four leagues farther, he approached the western extremity, when the breeze being fair for Cuba, he returned thither.†

On the 18th of May 1494, the squadron arrived at a great cape to which Columbus gave the name of Cubo de la Cruz, which it still retains. Resuming

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 244 to 264. † Id. p. 265 to 270.

his course to the west, he came on the following day to where the coast suddenly swept away to the north-east for many leagues, and then curved round again to the west, forming an immense bay, or rather gulf. The navigation was rendered difficult by numerous keys and sand banks. To this labyrinth of islands, Columbus gave the name of the Queen's Gardens. They were generally uninhabited; but on one of the largest, where they landed on the 22d of May, they found a considerable village. To this island, the admiral gave the name of Santa Maria. Having extricated himself from this archipelago, Columbus stood for a mountainous part of the island of Cuba, about fourteen leagues distant, where he landed at a large village on the 3d of June. Pursuing their voyage, the ships for the greater part of two days, swept along the open part of the coast, traversing the wide gulf of Xagua. Penetrating another labyrinth of islands, Columbus reached a low point of Cuba, to which he gave the name of Point Serafin; within which the coast swept to the east, forming a deep bay. After exploring this bay to the east, he continued westward, and proceeding about nine leagues, came to a shore where he had communications with the natives, one of whom he took as a guide. He had not gone far, before he was again involved in keys, shoals and sand banks. For several days he continued exploring the coast. As he proceeded, he found it took a general bend to the southwest. He went near that deep bay called by some the bay of Philipina, by others, of Cortes. All on board considered the extent they had coasted, too great for this to be an

island; they felt confident this land was a continent, and the further investigation of the coast was relinquished. Columbus stood to the southeast on the 13th of June. He soon came in sight of a large island, to which he gave the name of Evangelista; it is at present known as the island of Pines. He then stood to the south, but soon found himself enclosed in the lagoon of Siguanca. Leaving this lagoon, he retraced his course to the last anchoring place, and thence set sail on the 25th of June, navigating back through the groups of islands between Evangelista and Cuba. At length they emerged from the cluster of islands called the Jardins and Jardinellos, and came to the open part of the coast of Cuba. On the 7th of July, they anchored in the mouth of a fine river, to which Columbus gave the name of Rio de la Misa. Here he remained till the 16th. On the 18th, he reached Cape Cruz again.*

The wind being contrary for a return to Hispaniola, Columbus on the 22d of July, stood across for Jamaica, to complete the circumnavigation of that island. For nearly a month, he continued beating to the eastward along its southern coast. On the 19th of August, he lost sight of its eastern extremity, to which he gave the name of Cape Farol; it is called at present Point Morant. Steering eastward, he beheld on the following day, that long peninsula of Hispaniola, known by the name of Cape Tiburon. To this, he gave the name of Cape San Miguel. About the end of August, he anchored at a small island or rather rock called by him Alto Velo; it rises singly

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 270 to 286.

out of the sea, opposite to a long cape, to which he gave the name of Cape Beata. For eight days he remained weather-bound in a channel opening between Hispaniola and a small island, to which he gave the name of Saona. On the 24th, he reached the eastern extremity of Hispaniola, to which he gave the name of Cape San Rafael; it is at present known as Cape Engano. Hence he stood to the southeast, touching at the island of Mona, situated between Hispaniola and Porto Rico. Reaching now a known and tranquil sea, the excitement which had sustained him during his exertions, became abated, and mind and body sunk exhausted. He fell into a deep lethargy, resembling death itself, and was borne in a state of insensibility to the harbour of Isabella.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 286 to 292.

CHAPTER V.

Of the application of Columbus, through his brother Bartholomew, to Henry the Seventh of England; the arrival of Bartholomew at Hispaniola; and the meeting there of the two brothers in 1494.

When towards the end of 1484 Christopher Columbus was about to leave Portugal, he engaged his brother Bartholomew to depart to England, with proposals to the monarch of that country.* If at this time the elder brother contemplated going to Spain, he may have feared that Ferdinand and Isabella, like the King of Portugal, would refuse to forward his enterprise, and desired to avoid the loss of time that there would be, if he delayed till such refusal to bring the subject to the notice of another prince. The ship in which Bartholomew sailed was, on its way, robbed by pirates. Owing to this, and his poverty and sickness away from home, the proposals intended to be made to the King of England, were not submitted to him for several years. At length, he published in London, in the year 1488, a Map of the World, with some Latin verses on it, which Ferdinand Columbus, the son of Christopher, has, in his father's Life set down, he says, "rather for their antiquity than for their goodness." They are inserted

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 37 and 293.

in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages,* with the following translation:

"Thou which desireth easily the coasts of lands to know
This comely map, right learnedly, the same to thee will shew
Which Shabo, Pliny, Ptolemy and Isidore maintain
Yet for all that, they do not, all in one accord remain
Here also is set down, the late discovered burning zone
By Portugals, unto the world which whilom was unknown
Whereof the knowledge, now, at length, through all the world is blown."

A little under which he added:

"He whose dear native soil, bright stately Genoa
Even he whose name is Bartholomew Colon *de terra rubra*
The year of Grace a thousand and four hundred and four score
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more
In London published this work. To Christ all laud therefore."

No sovereign, to whom Columbus made proposals, attended to them with more promptness, after they were received, than Henry the Seventh. An agreement was actually made with Bartholomew for the prosecution of the enterprise, and the latter departed for Spain in search of his brother. On reaching Paris he first received the joyful intelligence that Christopher Columbus had already made the discovery, and returned to Spain in triumph. Bartholomew made great haste to meet his brother in Spain, but on reaching Seville, found that the fleet for the Indias had sailed. He immediately repaired to the court then at Valladolid, and received the command of three ships freighted with supplies for the colony. With these he reached Isabella just after the departure of the admiral for the coast of Cuba.†

The view of the little squadron of Columbus returning into the harbour, was a welcome sight to all

* 3 Hakluyt, p. 2, 3. † 3 Hakluyt, p. 2, 3. Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 295.

his friends in Isabella; and to none more so than to Bartholomew. A joyful and heartfelt surprise awaited the admiral on his arrival, in finding this brother at his bedside. His chief dependence had hitherto been on his brother Diego, whom he had made president of the junto formed to administer the affairs of the island during his absence. But the mild and peaceable disposition of Diego rendered him little capable of managing the concerns of a factious colony. Bartholomew was a more efficient character. He could be of great assistance in the present state of the colony, if he had high official authority. Columbus, being anxious to relieve himself from the pressure of public business, which weighed heavily upon him during his malady, immediately invested Bartholomew with the title of Adelantado, an office equivalent to that of lieutenant governor.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 262 and p. 295, 6.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the departure, in the absence of Columbus, of some of the malcontents for Spain; state of hostilities; bold exploit of Alonzo de Ojeda; Indian prisoners sent to Spain to be sold as slaves; the interposition of Isabella for them; and the sufferings of the natives notwithstanding.

While Columbus was absent from Isabella, Don Pedro Margarite and father Boyle, accompanied by a band of malcontents, had taken possession of certain of the ships in the harbour, and sailed for Spain; the first general and apostle of the *New World*, thus setting the flagrant example of an unauthorized abandonment of their posts. The departure of Margarite left the army without a head, and put an end to what little restraint and discipline existed at the time.*

Immediately after the return of Columbus, while he was yet confined to his bed, the kind-hearted chieftain Guacanagari paid him a visit, and informed him of a secret league forming among the caciques, at the head of which was Caonabo, with whom there had been a state of war in his absence.†

"To make war upon this subtle and ferocious chieftain, in the depths of his wild woodland territory, and among the fastnesses of his mountains, where at every step there would be danger of falling into some sudden ambush, would be a work of time, peril, and uncertain issue. In the mean-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 297 to 305.

† Id. p. 306 to 308. The following extract is from p. 308 to 310.

while, the settlements would never be secure from his secret and daring enterprises, and the working of the mines would be subject to frequent interruption. While perplexed on this subject, Columbus was relieved by a bold proposition on the part of Alonzo de Ojeda, who offered to take the Carib chieftain by stratagem, and deliver him alive into his hands. The project was wild, hazardous and romantic, characteristic of the fearless and adventurous spirit of Ojeda, who was fond of distinguishing himself by extravagant exploits, and feats of desperate bravery.

"Choosing ten bold and hardy followers, well armed and well mounted, and invoking the protection of his patroness the Virgin, whose image as usual he bore with him as a safeguard, Ojeda plunged into the forest, and made his way above sixty leagues at the head of his followers, into the wild territories of Caonabo, where he found the cacique in one of his most populous towns. Ojeda approached Caonabo with great deference and respect, treating him as a sovereign prince. He informed him that he had come on a friendly embassy from the admiral, who was Guamiquina or chief of the Spaniards, and who had sent him an invaluable present.

"Caonabo had tried Ojeda in battle; he had witnessed his fiery prowess, and had conceived a warrior's admiration of him. He received him with a degree of chivalrous courtesy, if such a phrase may apply to the savage state and rude hospitality of a wild warrior of the forests. The free, fearless deportment, the great personal strength, and the surprising agility and adroitness of Ojeda in all manly exercises, and in the use of all kinds of weapons, were calculated to delight a savage, and he soon became a great favourite with Caonabo.

Ojeda now used all his influence to prevail upon the cacique to repair to Isabella, for the purpose of making a treaty with Columbus, and becoming the ally and friend of

the Spaniards. It is said, that he offered him as a lure, the bell of the chapel of Isabella. This bell was the wonder of the island. When the Indians heard its melody sounding through the forests as it rung for mass, and beheld the Spaniards hastening towards the chapel, they imagined that it talked, and that the white men obeyed it. With that feeling of superstition with which they regarded all things connected with the Spaniards, they looked upon this bell as something supernatural, and in their usual phrase, said it had come from Turey, or the skies. Caonabo had heard this wonderful instrument at a distance, in the course of his prowlings about the settlement, and had longed to see it; but when it was proffered to him as a present of peace, he found it impossible to resist the temptation.

"The cacique agreed, therefore, to set out for Isabella; but when the time came to depart, Ojeda beheld with surprise a powerful force of warriors assembled, and ready to march. He asked the meaning of taking such an army on a mere friendly visit, to which the cacique proudly replied, that it was not befitting a great prince like him, to go forth scantily attended. Ojeda felt little satisfied with this reply; he knew the warlike character of Caonabo, and his deep subtilty, which is the soul of Indian warfare; he feared some sinister design, and that the chieftain might meditate some surprise of the fortress of Isabella, or some attempt upon the person of the admiral. He knew also that it was the wish of Columbus, either to make peace with the cacique, or to get possession of his person without the alternative of open warfare. He had recourse to a stratagem, therefore, which has an air of fable and romance, but which is recorded by all the contemporary historians, with trivial variations, and which Las Casas assures us was in current circulation in the island when he arrived there, about six years after the event. It accords, too, with the adventurous and extravagant character of the man, and with

the wild stratagems and vaunting exploits incident to Indian warfare.

"In the course of their march, having halted near the river Yagui, Ojeda one day produced a set of manacles of polished steel, so highly burnished that they looked like silver. These he assured Caonabo were royal ornaments which had come from heaven, or the Turey of Biscay;* that they were worn by the monarchs of Castile on solemn dances, and other high festivities, and were intended as presents to the cacique. He proposed that Caonabo should go to the river and bathe, after which he should be decorated with these ornaments, mounted on the horse of Ojeda, and should return in the state of a Spanish monarch, to astonish his subjects. The cacique, with that fondness for glittering ornaments common to savages, was dazzled with the sight; his proud military spirit, also, was flattered with the idea of bestriding one of those tremendous animals, so dreaded by his countrymen. He accompanied Ojeda and his followers to the river, with but few attendants, dreading nothing from nine or ten strangers when thus surrounded by his army. After the cacique had bathed in the river, he was assisted to mount behind Ojeda, and the shackles were then adjusted. This done, they pranced round among the savages, who were astonished to behold their cacique in glittering array, and mounted on one of those fearful animals. Ojeda made several circuits to gain space, followed by his little band of horsemen; the Indians shrinking back with affright from the prancing steeds. At length he made a wide sweep into the forest, until the trees shut him from the sight of the army. His followers then closed round him, and drawing their swords, threatened Caonabo with instant death if he made the least noise or resistance, though indeed his manacles and shackles effectually prevented the

*The principal iron manufactories of Spain are established in Biscay, where that mineral is found in abundance.

latter. They bound him with cords to Ojeda to prevent his falling, or effecting an escape; then putting spurs to their horses, they dashed across the Yagui, and made off through the woods with their prize.*

"They had now fifty or sixty leagues of wilderness to traverse on their way homewards, with here and there large Indian towns. They had borne off their captive by dint of hoof far beyond the pursuit of his subjects; but the utmost vigilance was requisite to prevent his escape during this long and toilsome journey, and to prevent exciting the hostilities of any confederate cacique. They had to avoid the populous parts of the country, therefore, or to pass through the Indian towns at full gallop. They suffered greatly from fatigue, hunger, and watchfulness; encountering many perils, fording and swimming the numerous rivers of the plains, toiling through the deep tangled forests, and clambering over the high and rocky mountains. They accomplished all in safety, and Ojeda entered Isabella in triumph from this most daring and characteristic enterprise, with his wild Indian warrior bound behind him a captive."

Columbus determined to send Caonabo to Spain; in the mean time, he ordered that he should be treated with kindness and respect, and lodged him in a part of his own dwelling house, where, however, he kept him a close prisoner in chains, probably in the splendid shackles which had ensnared him.†

The colony was suffering greatly from want of provisions, when they were relieved by the arrival of four ships commanded by Antonio Torres. Colum-

* This romantic exploit of Ojeda is recorded at large by Las Casas, by his copyist Herrera, (Decad. 1, L. 2, c. 16,) by Fernando Pizarro in his Varones Illustres del Neuvo Mundo, and by Charlevoix in his History of St. Domingo. Peter Martyr and others have given it more concisely, alluding to, but not inserting, its romantic details.

† Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 310 to 312.

bus determined that his brother Diego should return with the ships, and take all the gold that he could collect, and also specimens of other metals, and of fruits and plants. In his eagerness to produce immediate profit, and to indemnify the sovereigns for those expenses which bore hard upon the royal treasury, he sent likewise above five hundred Indian prisoners, who he suggested might be sold as slaves at Seville.*

"It is painful to find the brilliant renown of Columbus sullied by so foul a stain, and the glory of his enterprises degraded by such flagrant violations of humanity. The customs of the times, however, must be pleaded in his apology. The precedent had been given long before, by both Spaniards and Portuguese, in their African discoveries, wherein the traffic in slaves had formed one of the greatest sources of profit. In fact, the practice had been sanctioned by the highest authority; by that of the church itself; and the most learned theologians had pronounced all barbarous and infidel nations, who shut their ears to the truths of Christianity, as fair objects of war and rapine, of captivity and slavery. If Columbus needed any practical illustration of this doctrine, he had it in the conduct of Ferdinand himself, in his late wars with the Móors of Granada, in which he had always been surrounded by a cloud of ghostly advisers, and had professed to do every thing for the glory and advancement of the faith. In this holy war, as it was termed, it was a common practice to make inroads into the Moorish territories and carry off *cavalgadas*, not merely of flocks and herds, but of human beings, and those, not warriors taken with weapons in their hands, but quiet villagers, labouring peasantry, and helpless women and children. These were carried to the mart at Seville,

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 312 to 314. The extract which follows is p. 314, 15.

or to other populous towns, and sold into slavery. The capture of Malaga was a memorable instance, where, as a punishment for an obstinate and brave defence, which should have excited admiration rather than revenge, eleven thousand people, of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, many of them highly cultivated, and delicately reared, were suddenly torn from their homes, severed from each other, and swept into menial slavery, even though half of their ransoms had been paid. These circumstances are not advanced to vindicate, but to palliate, the conduct of Columbus. He acted but in conformity to the customs of the times, and was sanctioned by the example of the sovereign under whom he served.

"Las Casas, the zealous and enthusiastic advocate of the Indians, who suffers no opportunity to escape him of exclaiming in vehement terms against their slavery, speaks with indulgence of Columbus on this head. 'If those pious and learned men,' he observes, 'whom the sovereigns took for guides and instructers, were so ignorant of the injustice of this practice, it is no wonder that the unlettered admiral should not be conscious of its impropriety.'"*

When the Indians who had been captured in the wars with the caciques arrived in Spain, royal orders were issued for their sale as slaves in the markets of Andalusia.†

"Isabella, however, had been deeply interested by the accounts given of the gentle and hospitable character of these islanders, and of their great docility. The discovery had been made under her immediate auspices; she looked upon these people as under her peculiar care, and she anticipated with pious enthusiasm the triumph of leading them

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind. T. 1, cap. 122, MS.

† Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 328, 9. The extract following is also from p. 328, 9.

from darkness into the path of light. Her compassionate spirit revolted at the idea of treating them as slaves, even though sanctioned by the customs of the times. Within five days after the royal order for the sale, a letter was written by the sovereigns to Bishop Fonseca, suspending that order, until they could inquire into the cause for which the Indians had been made prisoners, and consult learned and pious theologians whether their sale would be justifiable in the sight of God.* Much difference of opinion took place among divines on this important question; the queen eventually decided it according to the dictates of her own pure conscience and charitable heart. She ordered that the Indians should be sent back to their native country, and enjoined that the islanders should be conciliated by the gentlest means, instead of being treated with severity. Unfortunately, her orders came too late to Hispaniola to have the desired effect."

The yoke of servitude was fixed upon the poor natives who stayed upon the island. A league which Caonabo had in vain attempted to accomplish when at large was produced by his captivity. The allied caciques were assembled in great force, within two days march of Isabella, when Columbus resolved to take the field and carry the war into the territories of the enemy. It was on the 24th of March 1495, that he issued forth from Isabella with his little army. It did not exceed two hundred infantry and twenty horse; but they had aid of another kind—twenty bloodhounds.†

"Columbus drew near to the enemy about the place where the town of St. Jago has since been built. Having

* Letter of the sovereigns to Fonseca. Navarrete, Collection de los Viages, T. 11, Doc. 92.

† Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 315 to 318. The extract which follows is p. 318.

ascertained the great force of the Indians, Don Bartholomew advised that their little army should be divided into detachments, and should attack the enemy at the same moment from several quarters: this plan was adopted. The infantry separating into different bodies, advanced suddenly from various directions, with great din of drums and trumpets, and a destructive discharge of firearms from the covert of the trees. The Indians were struck with panic, and thrown into complete confusion. An army seemed pressing upon them from every quarter; their fellow warriors were laid low by the balls of the arquebusses, which seemed to burst with thunder and lightning from the forests. While driven together and confounded by these attacks, Alonzo de Ojeda charged impetuously on their main body with his troop of cavalry, cutting his way into the centre with lance and sabre. The horses bore down the terrified Indians, while their riders dealt their blows on all sides unopposed. The bloodhounds were at the same time let loose, and rushed with sanguinary fury upon the naked savages, seizing them by the throat, dragging them to the earth, and tearing out their bowels. The Indians, unaccustomed to large and fierce quadrupeds of any kind, were struck with horror when assailed by these ferocious animals. They thought the horses equally fierce and devouring. The contest, if such it might be called, was of short duration. What resistance could a multitude of naked, unwarlike, and undisciplined savages make, with no other arms than clubs and arrows, and darts hardened in the fire, against soldiers clad in iron, wielding weapons of steel, and tremendous firearms, and aided by ferocious monsters whose very aspect struck terror to the heart of the stoutest warrior!

"The Indians fled in every direction with yells and howlings; some clambered to the top of rocks and precipices, from whence they made piteous supplications and offers of

complete submission; many were killed, many made prisoners, and the confederacy was for the time completely broken up and dispersed."

Having been forced to take the field by the confederacy of the caciques, Columbus now asserted the right of a conqueror. Anxious to make returns to Spain for the purpose of indemnifying the sovereigns for their expenses, and meeting public expectation, he determined to raise a large revenue from the island by imposing on the subjected provinces heavy tributes. This imposed on the natives a constant, never ending task. They were now obliged to grope, day by day, along the borders of the rivers sifting the sands for the grains of gold which every day grew more scanty; or to labour in their fields, beneath the fervour of a tropical sun, to raise food for their taskmasters. A desperate resolution was now taken by them. They agreed among themselves not to cultivate articles of food, and to destroy those already growing; hoping that thus, by producing a famine, they might starve the strangers from the island. This measure did indeed produce much distress among the Spaniards, but the most disastrous effects fell upon the natives themselves, The Spaniards pursued them. They took refuge in the most sterile and dreary heights; flying from one wild retreat to another, the women with their children in their arms, or at their backs; and all suffering dreadfully from fatigue and hunger, and harassed by perpetual alarms. Many thousands perished through famine, fatigue, terror, and the various maladies produced by their sufferings.

The survivors returned in despair to their habitations and submitted to the yoke.*

"Before passing on to other events, it may be proper here to notice the fate of Guacanagari, as he makes no further appearance in the course of this history. His friendship for the Spaniards had severed him from his countrymen, but it did not exonerate him from the general woes of the island. His territories, like those of the other caciques, were subjected to a tribute, which his people, with the common repugnance to labour, found it difficult to pay. Columbus, who knew his worth, and could have protected him, was long absent, either in the interior of the island, or detained in Europe by his own wrongs. In the interval, the Spaniards forgot the hospitality and services of Guacanagari, and his tribute was harshly exacted. He found himself overwhelmed with opprobrium from his countrymen at large, and assailed by the clamours and lamentations of his suffering subjects. The strangers whom he had succoured in distress, and taken as it were to the bosom of his native island, had become its tyrants and oppressors. Care, and toil, and poverty, and strong-handed violence, had spread their curses over the land, and he felt as if he had invoked them on his race. Unable to bear the hostilities of his fellow caciques, the woes of his subjects, and the extortions of his ungrateful allies, he took refuge at last in the mountains, where he died obscurely and in misery."*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 319 to 323. The extract which follows is from p. 323, 4.
† Charlevoix, Hist. St. Doming. Lib. 2.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the arrival at Hispaniola of Juan Aguado as commissioner in 1495; the return of Columbus and Aguado to Spain in 1496; the favourable reception of Columbus by the sovereigns; and their promise to him of another armament.

The prejudiced representations of Margarite and father Boyle, supported by the testimony of others who returned with them to Spain, were not without effect. Towards the end of August 1495, Juan Aguado sailed from Spain as commissioner, with four caravels freighted with supplies for the colony. Diego Columbus returned in this squadron to Hispaniola, and arrived at Isabella in October, while the admiral was absent occupied in re-establishing tranquillity. The news of the arrival and arrogant conduct of Aguado reached Columbus in the interior of the island; he immediately hastened to Isabella and ordered that Aguado's letter of credence should be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in presence of the populace. Aguado, after collecting information, as he thought, sufficient to ensure the ruin of the admiral and his brothers, prepared to return to Spain. Columbus resolved to do the same. He felt that it was time to appear at court and dispel the cloud of calumny that was gathering against him. When the ships were ready to depart, a terrible storm swept the island, destroying the four caravels of Aguado, with

two others which were in the harbour. The only vessel which remained was the Niña, and that in a very shattered condition. Columbus gave orders to have her immediately repaired, and another caravel constructed out of the wrecks of those destroyed. While waiting till they should be ready, he was cheered by tidings of rich mines in the interior. After enquiry into the matter, he gave orders that a fortress should be erected on the banks of the Hayna, in the vicinity of the mines, and that they should be diligently worked.*

The new caravel, the Santa Cruz, being finished, and the Niña repaired, Columbus made every arrangement for immediate departure. He appointed his brother Bartholomew to the command of the island, with the title already given him of Adelantado; in case of his death, he was to be succeeded by his brother Diego. On the 10th of March 1496, the two caravels set sail for Spain, Columbus being in one and Aguado in the other. Those who wished to visit their wives and relations in Spain, and others who could be spared from the island, returned in the caravels, which were crowded with two hundred and twenty-five passengers. There were also thirty Indians on board, among whom were the cacique Caonabo, one of his brothers and a nephew. Columbus had not then sufficient experience to make him work northward, so as to fall in with the tract of westerly winds; he took an easterly course, and in consequence had a tedious struggle against the trade winds and calms which prevail between the tropics.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. I. p. 394 to 396.

At Guadaloupe a female cacique conceiving a passion for Caonabo, left the island to accompany the natives of Hispaniola on board, taking with her also a young daughter. Leaving Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, they had again to work against the trade winds; and the provisions were so reduced during the long and tedious voyage, that by the beginning of June there was a famine on board. Land however was now soon seen. On the 11th of June, the vessels anchored in the bay of Cadiz, after a weary voyage of about three months, in the course of which the unfortunate Caonabo died.*

In the harbour of Cadiz, Columbus found three caravels, commanded by Pedro Alonzo Niño, on the point of sailing with supplies for the colony. They sailed the 17th of June. Tidings of the arrival of Columbus having reached the sovereigns, he received a letter from them, congratulating him on his return, and inviting him to court when he should have recovered from the fatigues of his voyage. He repaired to Bargus, where they were expected, and had a more favourable reception than he anticipated.†

Columbus now proposed a farther enterprise, and asked eight ships; two to be dispatched to Hispaniola, with supplies, the remaining six to be put under his command for a voyage of discovery. A compliance with this request was promised; but there was great delay in the performance of the promise. It was not until the spring of 1497, that serious attention was given to the matter. The measures now taken are ascribed mainly to Isabella. The unhappy

* Irving's Columbus, vol 1, p. 339 to 341. † Id. p. 342 to 344.

natives were not forgotten by her. She ordered that the greatest care should be taken of their religious instruction, and the greatest leniency shewn in collecting the tributes imposed upon them. When the public safety should not require stern measures, a disposition to easy rule was inculcated. While every disposition was shewn on her part to dispatch the expedition to the colony, still difficulties arose. At length, the urgent representations of Columbus of the misery to which the colony must be reduced, caused two ships to be dispatched in the beginning of 1498, under the command of Pedro Fernandez Coronel, freighted with supplies. The queen herself advanced the necessary funds out of those intended to form the endowment of her daughter Isabella, then betrothed to Emanuel, king of Portugal. An instance of her kind feeling towards Columbus was also evinced in the time of her affliction by the death of her only son Prince Juan: the two sons of Columbus, Diego and Fernando, had been pages to the deceased prince; the queen now took them, in the same capacity, into her own service.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 345 to 352.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the discovery of North America by Sebastian Cabot. Explanation of the difference between the legal year as used in England before 1752, and the year as generally used in historical chronology. Under a license which issued in February of the legal year 1497, Cabot having discovered North America in June following, that June shewn to be in 1498, and the discovery therefore not in 1497 but in 1498.

Henry the Seventh, by letters patent, bearing date on the fifth day of March, in the eleventh year of his reign, that is to say on the fifth day of March $149\frac{5}{6}$, granted to John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, sons of the said John, authority to sail to all parts, countries and seas of the east, of the west and of the north, with five ships and as many mariners or men as they will have them in the said ships, upon their own costs, to discover and occupy isles or countries, of the heathen and infidels, before unknown to christians, accounting to the king for a fifth part of the profit upon their return to the port of Bristol, at which port only were they to arrive.*

Of the voyage several accounts are to be found collected in Hakluyt. He gives the report of Galeacius Butrigarius, the pope's legate in Spain, of a con-

* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 5.

versation which Sebastian Cabot, when waxing old, had with him: it was to this effect:

"When my father departed from Venice many years since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandize, he took me with him to the City of London, while I was very young, yet having nevertheless some knowledge of letters of humanity and of the sphere. And when my father died, in that time when news were brought that Don Christopher Colonus, Genoese, had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talk in all the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then reigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to sail by the west into the east where spices grew, by a way that was never known before, by this fame and report, there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And understanding by reason of the sphere that if I should sail by way of the northwest, I should, by a shorter tract, come into India; I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my device, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertaining to the voyage, which was, as far as I remember, in the year 1496, in the beginning of summer. I began therefore to sail towards the northwest, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India; but after certain days, I found that the land ran towards the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along the coast to see if I could find any gulf that turned, I found the land still continent to the fifty-sixth degree under our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned towards the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land towards the equinoctial, (ever with intent to find the said passage to India,) and came to that part of this

firm land which is now called Florida, where, my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people and preparation for wars in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage. Whereupon I went into Spain to the catholic king."*

We see in this account no disposition to detract from the just fame of Columbus, nor any allegation of Cabot's making more than one voyage under Henry the Seventh. The particular year of his voyage, and its extent, are left by this report in some uncertainty; it remains to be seen, whether they can be more definitely fixed; other accounts will therefore be examined.

That taken from the fourth chapter of the second book of Francis Lopez de Gomara's general history of the West Indias is that Sebastian Cabot rigged up two ships at the cost of King Henry the Seventh, and carried with him three hundred men, and "took the way towards island from beyond the Cape of Labrador until he found himself in fifty-eight degrees and better;" that in the month of July it was so cold, and the ice so great that he durst not pass any further; that the days were very long, in a manner without any night, and for that short night that they had it was very clear; that Cabot feeling the cold turned towards the west, refreshing himself at Baccalaos; and that afterwards he sailed along the coast unto thirty-eight degrees, and thence shaped his course to return into England.†

* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 6, 7. † Id. 9.

In the sixth chapter of the third decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria, the statement is, that Sebastian Cabot furnished two ships in England, at his own charges, and with three hundred men directed his course so far toward the north pole, that even in July he found heaps of ice swimming in the sea, and in manner continuing all day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had been molten by the heat of the sun; that seeing such heaps of ice before him, he was enforced to turn his sails; that coasting by the shore, he was brought so far into the south, by reason of the land bending so much southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude with the sea Fretum Herculeum, having the north pole elevate in manner in the same degree; that he sailed in this tract so far that he had the island of Cuba on his left hand, in manner in the same degree of longitude; that he found the like course of the waters towards the west, but running more softly and gently than the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their navigations southwards; that Cabot named the lands which he saw Baccalaos, because that in the seas thereabout, he found multitudes of fish which the inhabitants called Baccalaos.*

These accounts (as given by Hakluyt) concur in sustaining the view, that what is frequently represented as having happened in two voyages, all happened in one, and that Cabot was on the coast of America as far north as the fifty-sixth or fifty-eighth degree of latitude. Mr. Biddle in his memoir of Cabot,† expresses the opinion, that he reached the

* 3 Hakluyt, p. 8, 9. † Id. p. 26 to 35.

latitude of sixty-seven degrees, perhaps sixty-seven and a half. And some support for this opinion is to be found in the account taken from the preface of Ramusius to the third volume of his navigations, namely, that Cabot sailed unto the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and an half, under the north pole, and finding the sea open, would have passed that way to Cathaia, if the mutiny of the ship-master and mariners had not hindered him and made him return homeward.* But the weight of authority seems to be strongly opposed to this account of Ramusius.

The accounts as so given in Hakluyt, likewise authorize the conclusion that Cabot sailed south along the coast, for a very considerable distance; and if the statement in Peter Martyr is to be relied on, he was as far south as what is now Virginia. For Hercules Columnæ, being Hercules's pillar, (by the straits of Gibraltar,) and *fretum* meaning straits, *fretum Herculeum*, is, doubtless, the straits of Gibraltar, through which the thirty-sixth degree passes; and the same degree passes through what is now Albemarle Sound on the coast of North Carolina.

The year of the voyage of Cabot is yet to be fixed. Dr. Robertson, in the ninth book of his history of America, states that the patent was granted on the 5th of March 1495, in less than two years after the return of Columbus from America; that Cabot did not set out on his voyage for two years; and that he embarked at Bristol in May 1497, and discovered land the 24th of June. Dr. Graham makes a similar statement in the first book of his co-

* 3 Hakluyt, p. 7, 8.

lonial history. These historians and others writing on the same subject, have made a mistake in reference to this matter, from not having their attention turned to the day on which the year commenced in England, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

It is left to legislators to determine on what day the year shall commence; and very different times have been prescribed in different nations for its commencement; some beginning it with the vernal equinox, which formerly happened on the 25th of March; some with the autumnal equinox; and some at other different times. In England the civil or legal year formerly commenced on the day of the annunciation, the 25th of March, whilst the day of the circumcision, the 1st of January, was that on which the year generally began in catholic countries, and that to which writers of history are usually supposed to refer.

An act of the English parliament passed in 1751, (after March,) enacted that the year should thereafter begin on the 1st of January; and the following 1st of January and the succeeding days to the 25th of March, were consequently dated as 1752, which otherwise would have been 1751.

In respect to any matter happening (under the authority of England) before the 1st of January 1752, there has often been confusion in describing the year of the event, where it happened between the 31st of December and the 25th of March. A day during the intervening two months and twenty-four days which one would mention as in 1497, and correctly so mention, if regard was had to the legal year in England, another would mention as in 1498, and with equal

correctness, if regard was had to the year as it prevailed in catholic countries generally, or as it was usually understood in historical chronology. This might be so to the 24th of March inclusive, while the very next day (the 25th of March) and every subsequent day to the 31st of December would have to be described by all as in 1498. Hence any matter happening within the two months and twenty-four days, has to be expressed with care to prevent misconception. This should be done by placing two figures at the end; thus, March 5, $149\frac{5}{6}$; the upper figure (5 in this case) indicating the English legal year at that period, and the lower figure (6 in this case) indicating the year generally referred to in historical chronology, and the same that is now used in our calendar.*

To apply these remarks. The first return of Columbus from America was in March 1493; considering the year as having commenced (as it did in Spain and Portugal) on the 1st of January. The patent granted by Henry the Seventh, was (as has been already stated) in the eleventh year of his reign. This king having ascended the throne on the 22d of August 1485, the grant in his eleventh year was between August 1495 and August 1496, and being in March, was of course in the March which was after August 1495, and before August 1496, that is to say, in March 1496, according to the calendar as then used in Spain and Portugal, and as now used in England and America. The grant was therefore about three years after the return of Columbus from America, instead of two

*From Notitia Historica; Hone's Year Book under Sept. 3, p. 1037, of Lond. edi. of 1845; Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopedia, title Chronology.

as Dr. Robertson and Dr. Graham have supposed. There being no error in stating the grant to Cabot to have been on the 5th of March 1495, (according to the legal year as it then was) it is not surprising that this grant should have been mentioned as two years after the return of Columbus in March 1493; but it is not the less a mistake.

The mistake is continued in respect to the year of the discovery of North America by Cabot. It is correctly stated that Cabot did not set out on his voyage for two years after the grant; but taking this to be so, the May that he embarked was not May 1497, but May 1498. This is established by the document called by Mr. Biddle in his memoir of Cabot (and by others who have adopted his idea) a second patent.

This document is a license granted by Henry the Seventh, on the 3d day of February, in the thirteenth year of his reign, to John Cabot, to take in any place in England, six English ships, of the burthen of two hundred tons or under, with the necessary apparel, and receive into the said ships such mariners and other subjects as of their own free will would go with him.* The thirteenth year of the reign in which this license issued, commenced on the 22d of August 1497, and ended on the 21st of August 1498. The license, therefore, issued on the 3d day of February next after August 1497, and next before August 1498. This 3d day of February was in 1497, merely by reason of the fact that the year then ended on the 24th of March: the May following was May 1498. Yet it having been seen that the license issued in Febru-

* Vol. 3 of Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 6. Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, p. 75.

ary 1497, and that the ships sailed the May following, the error has constantly been committed, of stating that they sailed in May 1497.

Thus at page six of the third volume of Hakluyt, it is stated that in the year 1497, John Cabot and his son Sebastian, (with an English fleet set out from Bristol,) discovered that land, which *no man before that time had attempted*, on the 24th of June, about five of the clock, early in the morning. The account proceeds: "This land, he called Prima Vista, that is to say, first seen, because, as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the island of St. John, upon this occasion, as I think, because it was discovered upon the day of John the Baptist." Although the matter here stated is mentioned in Hakluyt, as taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, there is no sufficient ground for inferring that Cabot had put on the map that he made the discovery the 24th of June 1497. He may have put on it in one place Prima Vista and in another St. John; and he may in some way have communicated the fact that the discovery was on the 24th of June, at five A. M. But the statement that the discovery was in 1497, is the mistake, probably, of some other person.

Of the fact that the discovery was not in 1497 but in 1498, there is farther evidence. The time of the departure from Bristol is in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian (referred to in Hakluyt's Voyages* as in the custody of John Stow,) stated to be in the beginning of May, in the thirteenth year of King Henry the

* Vol. 3, p. 9.

Seventh, which was May 1498, and is in Stow's Annals (referred to by Mr. Biddle, in his Memoir of Cabot,*) stated to be in 1498, in the mayoralty of William Purchas, which mayoralty Mr. Biddle states to have extended from the 28th of October 1497, to the 28th of October 1498.

In the Chronicle of Fabian there is mention also in the time of William Purchas being mayor, of three men taken in the new found island. "These," he says, "were clothed in beasts' skins and did eat raw flesh and spake such speech that no man could understand them, and in their demeanor like to brute beasts, whom the king kept a time after; of the which, upon two years after, I saw two apparalled, after the manner of Englishmen in Westminster palace which that time, I could not discern from Englishmen till I was learned what they were, but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word."† The statement in Hakluyt is that the three savages were brought home by Cabot, and presented to the king in the fourteenth year of the reign, that is during the year ending the 21st day of August 1499. Mr. Biddle supposes the presentation to the king to have been in the seventeenth year of the reign. But this is entirely consistent with the fact that they were not brought to England till in or after 1498.

The conclusion that the first discovery of land by any of the Cabots was on the 24th of June 1498, is sustained by Mr. Hume. His History of England was published in 1761, only nine years after the commencement of the year was changed, and when for

* P. 43. † Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 9, 10.

that reason the effect of the change was more likely to occur to him than to others who have written at a later period. In his twenty-fifth chapter, after referring to the accident by which England was deprived of the services of Columbus, he says:

"Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment. He fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian settled in Bristol, and sent him westward in 1498 in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude: he sailed southwards along the coast and discovered Newfoundland and other countries, but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement."

This conclusion is however opposed to Mr. Biddle's idea as to the purport of the license of the 3d of February 149⅞. He regards this license as reciting a previous discovery of land and isles by John Cabot. In reference to this it is to be observed that at the period in question the opinion of Columbus was universally adopted that Cuba was the end of the Asiatic continent, and that the adjacent islands were in the Indian seas.* Cabot's object was, by a different route, that northwest, which he thought would be shorter, to come to the same land and isles which Columbus had then lately found. According to the account in Fabian's Chronicle, Cabot made himself "very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and islands of the same, as by a sea card and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed;" and therefore the king, in the thirteenth year of his

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 182.

reign, caused to man and victual a ship at Bristol to search for an island which he said he knew well was rich and replenished with great commodities. Yet it is not to be inferred that he had seen that island. And so the circumstance of the license of the 3d of February 149$\frac{7}{8}$, authorizing John Cabot to take ships with their apparel, and them "convey and lead to the land and isles of late found; by the said John, in our name and by our commandment," should not be regarded as necessarily importing that John Cabot had, before the date of that license, in the name and by the commandment of the king, found the land and isles, but rather as referring to the land and isles then of late found, and directing John Cabot, in the name and by the commandment of the king, to convey and lead the ships and men to the said land and isles.

According to the report of the pope's legate it was when the father of Sebastian Cabot died, that the voyage of discovery was made. So far as this statement goes, it furnishes further evidence that 1498 was the year of that discovery; for the license of the 3d of February 149$\frac{7}{8}$, being to John Cabot, the inference is that he was then alive, and if the discovery was on the 24th of June next after his death, it could not have been earlier than the 24th of June 1498.

Of the Cabots, Sebastian appears to have greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science. Their place of residence was Bristol. But the accounts do not concur as to the birth place of Sebastian; sometimes Venice and sometimes Bristol being mentioned as the place. From folio 225 of a volume of "Decades of the New World," published in 1555

by Richard Eden, Mr. Biddle has extracted* a marginal note of Eden, to this effect: "Sebastian Cabot told me that he was born in Bristol, and that at four years old, he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned again into England with his father after certain years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice."

The precise day of the birth of Sebastian is not ascertained. But 1477 is generally set down as the year, which would make him about twenty-one at the time of the discovery in 1498: he appears to have been early instructed in the knowledge proper for a seaman. In a life of Americus Vespucius, published at New York in 1846, by Messrs. Lester and Foster,† it is stated that Sebastian Cabot was born in 1467; but no sufficient authority has been found for this statement; and it seems improbable. Cabot died in 1557, and supposing him to have been born in 1477 was then at the advanced age of eighty. It will be seen hereafter that he joined in the dance the year before his death, and it is going far enough to suppose him then seventy-nine.

The part of America first seen and named by Cabot is generally considered to have been the present Newfoundland. Mr. Biddle‡ adverting to this matter states that in regard to it, an important, and in his opinion, conclusive piece of testimony is furnished by Ortelius, who had the map of Cabot before him and places an island of St. John in the latitude of fifty-six degrees immediately on the coast of Labrador.

* Memoir of Cabot, p. 68. † P. 44. ‡ Memoir of Cabot, p. 51.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the discovery of the continent of South America by Columbus in August 1498; and the treatment which he experienced afterwards.

There is no foundation for the statement so often made that the voyage of Columbus in which he first saw the continent of America, was a *year* after Cabot's discovery. Notwithstanding the great delays in preparing the vessels for the third voyage of Columbus, he sailed from the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda, on the 30th of May 1498; being the same month that Cabot sailed from Bristol. He arrived at Gomera on the 19th, and left there the 21st of June. Off the island of Ferro, he divided his squadron, dispatching three of the ships direct for Hispaniola, to carry supplies, and prosecuting his voyage with the three remaining vessels towards the Cape de Verd islands. As he advanced within the tropics, the change of climate and the close and sultry weather which prevailed, brought on a severe attack of the gout which was followed by a violent fever. Yet he continued to keep his reckoning and make his observations. On the 27th he arrived among the Cape de Verd islands. Leaving Buena Vista on the 5th of July, and proceeding southwest, he found himself on the 13th, according to his observations, in the fifth degree of north latitude. Finding the heat intolerable, he altered his course and steered westward. Day after

day passed without reaching land; and the necessities of the ships became urgent. Wherefore, supposing himself in the longitude of the Caribbee islands, he sailed northward in search of them. On the 31st of July, three mountains were seen, which as the ships drew nearer, appeared united at the base. Columbus gave to this island the name of La Trinidad (the Trinity) which it continues to bear.*

While coasting the island on the 1st of August, Columbus beheld land to the south. It was that low tract of coast intersected by the numerous branches of the Oronoco. Columbus supposing it to be an island, gave it the name of La Isla Santa; having no idea that he was then beholding the main continent. On the 2d of August he continued on to the southwest point of Trinidad, which he called Point Arenal. It stretched towards a corresponding point of Terra Firma, making a narrow pass, with a high rock in the centre, to which he gave the name of El Gallo. Near this pass the ships cast anchor. He afterwards proceeded through the strait to the inner side of Trinidad. To his left spread that broad gulf since known by the name of Paria. He continued northward towards a mountain at the northwest point of the island, about fourteen leagues from Point Arenal. Here he beheld two lofty capes opposite each other; one on the island of Trinidad, the other to the west, on the long promontory of Paria, which stretches from the main land, and forms the northern side of the gulf, but to which Columbus, mistaking it for an island, gave the name of Isla de Gracia. After sail-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 355 to 360.

ing several leagues along the coast, he anchored on Monday the 6th of August, but seeing no person, continued further westward, and anchored in a river where he had friendly intercourse with the natives. Taking some of them as guides, he proceeded eight leagues farther westward to a point which he called Aguja, or the Needle. On the neighbouring coast, called by Columbus the Gardens, the attention of the Spaniards was aroused by the strings of pearls which they saw around the arms of the natives. Columbus left the Gardens on the 10th of August, and continued to coast westward somewhat farther, but finding it difficult to get along in this direction, changed his course, and on the 11th set sail eastward until he got through that formidable pass called the Boca del Dragon. On leaving this pass, he saw to the northeast, many leagues distant, two islands, which he called Assumption and Conception, probably those now known as Tobago and Grenada. On the 15th he discovered the islands of Margarita and Cabagua, afterwards famous for their pearl fishery. There was great temptation to linger near these shores, and to visit other spots which the Indians mentioned as abounding in pearls. The coast of Paria also continued extending westward as far as the eye could reach, rising into a range of mountains, and provoking examination to ascertain whether, as he conjectured, it was a part of the Asiatic continent. Columbus was compelled, by a disease of his eyes, to forego this investigation, and bear away for Hispaniola. After sailing for five days to the northwest, he reached that island on the 19th of August,

fifty leagues to the westward of the river Ozema, and anchored on the following morning twenty leagues nearer that river, under the little island of Beata. Here he procured an Indian messenger to take a letter to his brother Bartholomew, who was supposed to be at the river Ozema, where he had erected a fortress which was the origin of the City of St. Domingo. Columbus arrived off the mouth of the river the 30th of August, but was met on the way by a caravel, on board of which was his brother, who, having received his letter, had hastened to welcome him. The meeting of the brothers was a joyful one. Yet attached as they were to each other, Bartholomew could not but be deeply concerned to see his brother so much worsted. Columbus arrived almost the wreck of himself; haggard, emaciated and nearly blind.*

It is not proposed here to give any relation of the occurrences on the island during the long absence of Columbus. An interesting account of them is given by Mr. Irving,† who speaks of the ability shewn by Bartholomew Columbus, in the course of his transient government, yet remarks that his good intentions and judicious arrangements (as in the case of his brother,) were constantly thwarted by the bad passions and improper conduct of others.

Neither is it designed here to give any history of the government of Columbus, after his arrival at Hispaniola, or of the mission on which Bobadilla was sent from Spain in July 1500, or of the proceedings of this commissioner. These are narrated by Mr.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 361 to 373. † Id. p. 379 to 411.

Irving in a manner to interest every reader.* It must suffice here to state that Bobadilla put Columbus and his brothers in chains, confined the former in a fortress and the latter on board the caravels, without permitting any communication between them, and sent all three in the vessels which sailed for Spain in October. Alonzo de Villeja, who was appointed to conduct the prisoners to Spain, was deeply moved at the treatment of Columbus. The master of the caravel, Andreas Martin, was equally grieved: they both treated the admiral with profound respect and assiduous attention. They would have taken off his irons, but to this he would not consent. "No!" said he proudly, "their majesties commanded me by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains: I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will preserve them afterwards as relics and memorials of the reward of my services."—"He did so," adds his son Fernando, "I saw them always hanging in his cabinet, and he requested that when he died they might be buried with him."

The arrival of Columbus at Cadiz, a prisoner and in chains, produced almost as great a sensation as his triumphant return from his first voyage. A great reaction in the public mind was immediately manifested: the heart of Isabella was filled with mingled sympathy and indignation: and both sovereigns hastened to give evidence that his imprisonment had been without their authority and contrary to their

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 2 to 56.

wishes. They sent orders that the prisoners should be instantly set at liberty and treated with all distinction: they wrote a letter to Columbus, couched in terms of gratitude and affection, expressing their grief at all that he had suffered, and inviting him to court: they ordered that two thousand ducats should be advanced to defray his expenses. Columbus appeared in court in Granada on the 17th of December, and was received by the sovereigns with unqualified favour and distinction. They expressed their indignation at the proceedings of Bobadilla, which they disavowed as contrary to their instructions, and promised that he should be immediately dismissed from his command.* The person chosen to supersede him was Don Nicholas de Ovando. His government extended over the islands and Terra Firma of which Hispaniola was to be the metropolis.†

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 57 to 60. † Id. p. 67 to 69.

CHAPTER X.

Of the voyage of Americus Vespucius with Alonzo de Ojeda and of other voyages from Spain, made along the coast of South America in 1499 and 1500.

Americus Vespucius was born in Florence on the 9th of March 1451, of a noble but not at that time a wealthy family. His father's name was Anastatio; his mother's was Elizabetta Mini. He was the third of their sons, and received an excellent education under his uncle, Georgio Antonio Vespucci, a learned friar of the fraternity of San Marco, who was instructor to several illustrious personages of that period. Americus visited Spain and took up his residence in Seville to attend to some commercial transactions on account of the family of the Medici of Florence, and to repair, by his ingenuity, the losses and misfortunes of an unskilful brother. The date of his arrival in Spain is uncertain.* In the Life of Americus by Lester and Foster, it is stated that his departure for Spain took place some time in 1490.† He seems to have gone to Barcelona,‡ and to have been there engaged in mercantile business before the 30th of January 1492.§ Soon after this time he went to Seville.‖

After the return of Columbus from his first voyage, Ferdinand and Isabella contracted with Berardi to

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 247, Appendix No. 10.
† Life of Vespucius, p. 70. ‡ Id. p. 72. § Id. p. 74. ‖ Id. p. 75.

furnish and equip four armaments to be forwarded at different times to the new world, and Americus is found to be busily occupied, in connexion with him, receiving payments and entering into obligations in his behalf and name. Some have thought that he was only the agent of Berardi in these transactions; but there is ground for supposing that he may have been a partner in the house, as after the death of Berardi, Americus continued to manage the affairs of the armaments and was paid large sums of money by the government for equipments previously effected. It has been suggested by some historians that Americus accompanied Columbus upon his second voyage, but there is no evidence to sustain the opinion, and his own accounts tend to contradict it.*

While providing for the dispatch of the four caravels, Americus, of course, had occasional opportunity of conversing with Columbus; he soon became anxious to visit the newly discovered countries. Having made himself well acquainted with geographical and nautical science, he prepared to launch in the career of discovery, and soon carried this design into execution.†

Mr. Lester argues that Americus made a voyage in 1497, but says, after all, it is unimportant to come to any decision on this point. Even if Americus had discovered the main land before Columbus, by a few months, he admits this could take nothing from the name and fame of that great man. "He, at any rate, arrived at the continent, without assistance from any source but his own strength of mind, and to him,

* Life of Vespucius, p. 75. † Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 248, Appendix No. 1.

whatever may have been the good fortune of any of his cotemporaries, belongs the glory of the grand discovery of a new world. The first glimpse that he obtained of the luxuriant islands of the Western ocean rendered him immortal, and all subsequent discoveries followed his own almost as a matter of course."*

There is, however, no evidence that Americus proceeded on any voyage to the west until May 1499, when he accompanied Alonzo de Ojeda who sailed from Port St. Mary opposite Cadiz with four vessels. Ojeda pursued the route of Columbus in his third voyage, being guided by the chart he had sent home, as well as by the mariners who had been with him. The part of the continent reached by Ojeda was south of the part discovered by Columbus. It is supposed to have been the coast of Surinam. Hence he ran along the coast of the gulf of Paria, passing the mouths of many rivers, but especially those of the Esquivo and the Oronoco, and seeing none of the natives until arriving at Trinidad. He passed through the strait of the Boca del Drago, and then steered along Terra Firma, landing occasionally, until he arrived at Curiana or the gulf of Pearls. Hence he stood to the opposite island of Margarita. This, as well as several adjacent islands, he visited and explored; after which he returned to the main land and touched at Cumana and Maracapana. Sailing again, he touched at the island of Curazao, and proceeding along the coast he arrived at a vast deep gulf, on the eastern side of which was a village of peculiar construction. From resemblances to the Italian city,

* Life of Americus Vespucius, p. 103.

Ojeda gave to the bay the name of the gulf of Venice, and it is called at the present day Venezuela or Little Venice. Continuing to explore this gulf Ojeda penetrated to a port or harbour to which he gave the name of St. Bartholomew, but which is supposed to be the same at present known by the original Indian name of Maracaibo. Proceeding along the western shores of the gulf of Venezuela and standing out to sea and doubling Cape Maracaibo, Ojeda pursued his coasting voyage from port to port and promontory to promontory of this unknown continent until he reached that long stretching head land called Cape de la Vela. Then he changed his course and stood across the Caribbean sea for Hispaniola. After stopping there, he resumed his voyage and visited various islands, whence he carried off numbers of the natives. He at length arrived at Cadiz in June 1500, with his ships crowded with captives whom he sold as slaves. Yet when all the expenses of the expedition were deducted but five hundred ducats remained to be divided between fifty-five adventurers.*

Another armament which departed from Spain, a few days after that of Ojeda, had a better pecuniary result. Pedro Alonzo Nino who had been with Columbus to Cuba and Paria, sailed from the little port of Palos in a small bark about the beginning of June 1499. Guided by the chart of Columbus, Nino reached the southern continent, a little beyond Paria, about fifteen days after the same coast had been visited by Ojeda. Proceeding to the gulf of Paria, he

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 25 to 30. Id. p. 214, 15, Appendix No. 2, and p. 248 to 260, Appendix No. 10. Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 3 to 27.

landed to cut dye-wood, and then passing by the Boca del Drago, steered for the island of Margarita where he obtained a considerable quantity of pearls by barter. Nino and his companions skirted the opposite coast of Cumana, trading cautiously and shrewdly from port to port: they were convinced that this was a part of Terra Firma. After proceeding westward somewhat farther, they returned to Cumana and sailed for Spain. The little bark anchored safely at Bayonne in Gallicia about the middle of April 1500; after performing the richest voyage yet made to the new world.*

Vicente Yañez Pinzon, one of three brave brothers who aided Columbus in his first voyage, sailed from Palos with an armament of four caravels in the beginning of December 1499. In the eighth degree of southern latitude he beheld land afar off on the 28th of January, to which he gave the name of Santa Maria de la Consolacion, from the sight of it having consoled him in the midst of doubts and perplexities. It is now called Cape St. Augustine, and forms the most prominent part of the empire of Brazil. After taking formal possession of the territory for the Castilian crown, Pinzon sailed to the northwest until he came to the mouth of a river too shallow to receive his ships. After a hostile engagement here with the natives, he stood forty leagues to the northwest until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the equinoctial line, where he saw a number of fresh and verdant islands in the mouth of an immense river. It was the renowned Muranon, since known

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 28 to 32. Irving's Columbus, p. 61.

as the Orellana and the Amazon. He continued along the coast, passing the mouths of the Oronoco, and entering the gulf of Paria, where he landed and cut Brazil wood. Sallying forth by the Boca del Drago, he reached the island of Hispaniola about the 23d of June, whence he sailed for the Bahamas. Here, in a hurricane in July, two of the caravels with their crews were swallowed up. The other two made the best of the way to Hispaniola, to repair damages sustained in the gale. Sailing thence for Spain, they anchored in the river before Palos about the end of September.*

Scarcely had Vicente Yañez Pinzon departed on the voyage just mentioned, when his townsman Diego de Lepe likewise set sail with two vessels from the busy little port of Palos on a like expedition. No particulars of this voyage are known, except that Lepe doubled Cape St. Augustine, and beheld the southern continent stretching far to the southwest.†

Another contemporary adventurer was Rodrigo de Bastides, a wealthy notary of Teraria, a suburb of Seville, who associated with him Juan de la Cosa, a veteran pilot who had sailed with Columbus and Ojeda. Their voyage extended the discoveries of the coast of Terra Firma from Cape de Vela quite to the port of Nombre de Dios. The vessels of Bastides being nearly destroyed by the worm, he had great difficulty in reaching Xaragua in Hispaniola, where he lost his two vessels, and proceeded with his crew by land to San Domingo. Here he was seized

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 33 to 41. Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 61, 2.
† Id. p. 42, 3 of former, and 62, 3 of latter.

and imprisoned by Bobadilla, under pretext that he had traded for gold with the natives of Xaragua.*

The expeditions mentioned in this chapter were undertaken by enterprising individuals under a general license granted by the Spanish sovereigns, who thus had their territories extended free of cost, and yet had their treasury benefitted by a share of the proceeds of the voyages, which was reserved as a kind of duty to the crown.

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 42, 3. Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 61, 2.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the accidental discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese in 1500; the voyage of Americus Vespucius, under the king of Portugal, to that province in 1501; the voyage of Cortereal in the same year to the northwest; and the patents obtained from Henry the Seventh of England in 1501 and 1502 by Portuguese to enable them to make discoveries.

The design, which Prince Henry of Portugal had, in his lifetime, so much at heart, that of opening a route to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had been accomplished at last by Vasco de Gama in 1497. Soon after Gama's return a fleet of thirteen sail was fitted out from Portugal to visit the countries of which he brought accounts. It sailed on the 9th of March 1500, for Calicut under the command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. Having passed the Cape de Verd islands, Cabral sought to avoid the calms prevalent on the coast of Guinea, by stretching far to the west. Suddenly, on the 25th of April, he came in sight of land unknown to any one in his squadron; for as yet they had not heard of the discoveries of Pinzon and Lepe. After coasting it for some time, he became persuaded that it must be part of a continent. Having ranged along it, somewhat beyond the fifteenth degree of southern latitude, he landed at a harbour which he called Porto Securo. He gave ano-

ther name to the country. Having a cross placed at the top of a tree, with great solemnity, and blessed by the priests that he had with him, he named the province Sancta Cruz (Sainte Croix); for it was the 3d of May, the day on which the church celebrates the invention of the Holy Cross. After taking possession for the crown of Portugal, he dispatched a ship to Lisbon with the important tidings. Subsequently this province received the name of Brazil, because the wood brought from it for dying was red and resembled brass. The original name and its change are mentioned in a volume entitled,

"Histoire de la Provence de Sancta-Cruz que nous nommons ordinairement Le Brasil, par Pero de Magalhanes de Gandavo dédiée au tres illustre seigneur D. Lionis Pereirra ancien gouverneur de Malacca et de plusieurs parties & l'inde meridionale," published at Lisbon in 1576, and republished at Paris in 1837, by Henri Ternaux in his collection of original voyages, relations and memoirs.

Dr. Robertson, in recording this voyage of Cabral, concludes with one of his just and elegant remarks: "Columbus' discovery of the new world," he observes, "was the effort of an active genius, guided by experience and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design, which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few

years after, to the knowledge of that extensive continent."*

The tidings received from Cabral were followed by a voyage of Gonsalo Coella, who was sent by King Emanuel with three caravels to explore the country. The fleet sailed in May 1501; and it seems that Americus Vespucius who had left Spain went in it.† His account of this expedition is that after leaving a port of Ethiopia called Beseneghe in the fourteenth degree of north latitude, he sailed for the south through the Atlantic ocean, and in ninety-seven days, to wit: on the 17th of August, made land, distant seven hundred leagues from said port, and situated five degrees south of the equinoctial line, of which possession was thereupon taken in the name of the king of Portugal; that departing from this place he sailed along in a southeastern direction, on a line parallel with the coast; that he found at length that the line of the coast made a turn to the south and doubled a cape which he called Cape St. Augustin, which was one hundred and fifty leagues distant easterly from the land first made, and eight degrees south of the equinoctial line; that he then sailed in a southerly direction and went so far south that he was beyond the tropic of Capricorn, where the south pole is elevated thirty-two degrees above the horizon; that he ran altogether on this coast about seven hundred and fifty leagues, to wit: one hundred and fifty from Cape St. Augustin towards the west and six hundred towards

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 61 to 64. Robertson's America, book 2.

† Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 249, Appendix No. 10. Preface to Histoire de la Provence de Sancta Cruz.

the south: that on the 15th of February, having concluded to take leave of the country, he left port, when the south pole was elevated fifty-two degrees above the horizon, and on the 3d of April had sailed from that port five hundred leagues; that on the 7th of April, while driven by a storm, he came in sight of new land and ran within twenty leagues of it; that being in great danger from the storm, it was agreed to steer for Portugal; that they ran five days, making about two hundred and fifty leagues, continually approaching the equinoctial line; that it was their intention to go and reconnoitre the coast of Ethiopia, distant thirteen hundred leagues, and they arrived at it, touching at Sierra Leone where they stayed fifteen days; that they steered then for the Azore islands, about seven hundred and fifty leagues distant, where they arrived the latter part of July, and staid fifteen days; and that they entered Lisbon on the 7th of September 1502.*

Of another expedition, about this time, that of Gaspar Cortereal, an account is preserved in a letter from the Venetian ambassador in Portugal to his brothers, written eleven days after the return of Cortereal, which is contained in a volume of Voyages and Travels published at Vicenza in 1507. From the letter which bears date the 19th of October 1501, the following is extracted:

"On the 8th of the present month, one of the two caravels which her most serene majesty dispatched last year on a voyage of discovery to the north, under the command

* Life of Vespucius, by Lester and Foster, ch. 14, p. 223 to 233.

of Gaspar Cortereal arrived here, and reports the finding of a country, distant hence *west and northwest* two thousand miles, heretofore quite unknown. They proceeded along the coast between six and seven hundred miles, without reaching its termination, from which circumstance they conclude it to be of the main land connected with another region, which *last year was discovered in the north*, but which the caravel could not reach on account of the ice and the vast quantity of snow; and they are confirmed in this belief by the multitude of great rivers they found, which certainly could not proceed from an island."

This letter is set forth in the Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, by Mr. Biddle, who considers it clear that the country farther north, which Cortereal could not reach, but of which he rightly conjectured he had found a continuation, was that discovered by Cabot; and also clear that Cortereal began his course to the southward of the St. Lawrence. Mr. Biddle supposes however that he may have reached the gulf, and perhaps the southern extremity of Labrador.*

Mr. Alfred Hawkins, in his interesting account of Quebec, at page 23, says, that "He reached the northern extremity of Newfoundland, and is considered to have discovered the gulf of St. Lawrence. He also sailed along the coast of Labrador northward; and appears to have penetrated nearly to Hudson's bay." He mentions that Gaspar Cortereal was a gentleman who had been educated in the household of the King of Portugal, and represents him as a man of enterprising and determined cha-

* Memoir of Cabot, p. 235 to 241.

racter, ardently thirsting after glory. Yet he mentions that the character of this voyage was sullied by his bringing back to Portugal no less than fifty-seven of the natives, of whom, in the letter of the Venetian ambassador, it is said, "they are extremely fitted to endure labour, and will probably turn out the best slaves which have been discovered up to this time."

Hawkins adds:

"It has, indeed, been conjectured that the name, Terra de Laborador, was given to this coast by the Portuguese slave merchants, in consequence of the admirable qualities of the natives as labourers, and in full anticipation of the future advantages to be derived from this unchristian traffic.

"These cruel designs were, however, frustrated by accumulated distress and disaster. In a second voyage, in 1501, Cortereal was lost at sea; and a third, undertaken by his brother Michael, in search of him, was alike unfortunate. Neither of the brothers was ever afterwards heard of. The King of Portugal, feeling a great affection for these gentlemen, is stated to have fitted out at his own expense an expedition, consisting of three armed vessels, which returned without any information as to the manner or place of their death. One brother still remained, who was anxious to renew the attempt to discover their fate, but was overruled by the persuasion of the king. In an old map published in 1508, the Labrador coast is called Terra Cortereallis; and the entrance into the gulf of St. Lawrence was long known to the Portuguese by the name of the gulf of the Two Brothers. On the strength of the voyage of Cortereal, the Portuguese claimed the first discovery of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent coast of America; and maps were actually forged to support these unfair pretensions."

These voyages of the Portuguese are the more remarkable, because by the treaty of 1494 between Spain and Portugal, the Spaniards seem to have supposed they were secured in the exclusive right of navigation and discovery in the western ocean. However, notwithstanding the treaty, Portugal was not without ground of claim to Brazil, since by the treaty the papal line of demarcation, instead of remaining one hundred, was removed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verd island; and it was only discoveries beyond this line that Portugal agreed should appertain to the Spanish nation.*

Still the King of Portugal was a good deal trammelled by the treaty, and it may have been for this reason that his subjects resorted to the King of England to give them powers of discovery. Mr. Biddle has published, in an Appendix† to his Memoir of Cabot, letters patent granted by Henry the Seventh on the 19th of March, in the sixteenth year of his reign, (to wit, March $150\frac{0}{1}$,) to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashhurst and John Thomas of Bristol, and John Fernandus, Francis Fernandus and John Gunsolus of Portugal, authorizing discoveries to all parts, regions and ends of the sea, east, west, south and north. And he mentions‡ a subsequent patent, with very similar powers, granted on the 9th of December, in the eighteenth year of Henry the Seventh, (1502,) to three of the previous patentees, to wit, Thomas Ashhurst, John Gunsolus and Francis Fernandus, with the addition of Hugh Elliott.

* History of Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. 2, p. 181. † See p. 306, also p. 222. ‡ P. 224.

English history is rather barren of information as to what was done under these patents. Mr. Hume, in the 26th chapter of his History of England, after mentioning the discovery by Cabot in 1498, says, "Elliott and others made a like attempt in 1502," and cites Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 37. Discoveries in which Hugh Eliot was instrumental, are also alluded to by Robert Thorne, in a letter written by him whilst at Seville in 1527, to Dr. Lee, the ambassador from England to Spain.*

In this letter Thorne says:

"If I had the faculty to my will, it should be the first thing that I would understand, even to attempt, if our seas northward be navigable to the pole or no. I reason that as some sicknesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the son, so this inclination or desire of this discovery, I inherited of my father which with another merchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot were the discoverers of the New found-lands of the which, there is no doubt (as now plainly appeareth) if the mariners would then have been ruled and followed their pilot's mind, the lands of the West Indias (from whence all the gold cometh) had been ours. For all is one coast."

This letter of Robert Thorne, it is to be observed, was written after the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards.

From the following entries in the account of the privy purse expenses of Henry the Seventh,† it appears there was for a while some intercourse with the newly discovered region:

* In Hakluyt's Collection, vol. 1, p. 219.

† In Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, p. 230, 31.

"17 November 1503. To one that brought hawks from the New founded island £ 1.

"8 April 1504. To a *preste** that goeth to the new island £ 2.

"25 August 1505. To Clay's going to Richmond with wild cats and popinjays of the New found island for his costs 13*s.* 4*d.*

"To Portuguese that brought popinjays and cats of the mountain with other stuff to the king's grace £ 5."

* Mr. Biddle supposes this to mean *priest*.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the fleet and orders sent out with Ovando to Hispaniola in 1502; the voyage made the same year to the northern coast of South America by Alonzo de Ojeda; the last voyage of Columbus; and his wearisome detention at Jamaica.

Isabella urged the speedy departure of Ovando, to put a stop to the abuses of Bobadilla's government. She was particularly careful in providing for the kind treatment of the Indians. Ovando was ordered to assemble the caciques, and declare to them that the sovereigns took them and their people under their especial protection. They were merely to pay tribute like other subjects of the crown, and it was to be collected with mildness. Yet for the royal service, they might be compelled to work in the mines and in other employments. This (though they were to be paid as hired labourers,) led to great abuses and oppressions, and was ultimately as fatal to the natives as would have been the most absolute slavery. Another decree was made, which it may be proper to notice in this connection. It was permitted to carry to the colonies negro slaves born in Spain, the descendants of natives of Africa, with which a traffic of the kind had for some time been carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese. This is the first trace of negro slavery in the new world.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 69 to 71.

Ovando's fleet was the largest that had yet sailed to the new world. It consisted of thirty sail, five of them from ninety to one hundred and fifty tons burthen, twenty-four caravels of from thirty to ninety, and one bark of twenty-five tons. The number of souls that embarked was about two thousand five hundred. The fleet put to sea on the 13th of February 1502. In the early part of the voyage it encountered a terrible storm: one of the ships foundered with one hundred and twenty passengers; the others were obliged to throw overboard every thing that was on deck, and were completely scattered. Yet only one ship was lost. The others arrived at San Domingo on the 15th of April.*

Ojeda had reported that in his voyage in 1499 he met with English adventurers in the neighbourhood of Venezuela. The Spanish sovereigns were anxious to establish a resolute and fighting commander like Ojeda upon this outpost. And he found it easy to obtain authority to prosecute at his own expense the discovery of the coast of Terra Firma. He was instructed to set up the arms of Castile and Leon in every place he visited, as a signal of discovery and possession, and to put a stop to the intrusions of the English. Ojeda and his associates fitted out four ships, and sailed in 1502. Arriving at the port destined for his seat of government, Ojeda found the country so poor and sterile that he proceeded along the coast to a bay which he named Santa Cruz, but which is supposed to be the same at present called Bahia Honda, where he found a Spaniard who had

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 71, 2.

been left in Citarma by Bastides about thirteen months before. At this place Ojeda erected a fortress, which contained the magazine of provisions and a strong box in which was deposited the treasure amassed in the expedition. Vergara and Ocampo, two of Ojeda's partners, becoming dissatisfied with him, informed him of their intention to convey him a prisoner to Hispaniola, to answer for offences which they alleged against him. He attempted to escape, but was seized, thrown in irons and conveyed on board of Vergara's caravel. The two partners then set sail, bearing off the whole community, its captive governor, and the strong box which was at the bottom of all these feuds. They arrived at the western part of the island of Hispaniola. While at anchor within a stone's throw of the land, Ojeda, confident in his strength and skill as a swimmer, let himself down the side of the ship in the night, and his arms being free, attempted to swim to the shore. But his feet were shackled, and the weight of his irons threatened to sink him. He was obliged to shout for help. A boat was sent from the vessel to his relief, and the unfortunate governor was brought back half drowned. He was delivered to the commander of the place, while Vergara and Ocampo (as he said) were taking from the strong box whatever they thought proper. All parties were in Saint Domingo about the end of September 1502, when the chief judge of the island gave a decision against Ojeda. He appealed to the sovereign, and after some time was honourably acquitted by the royal council; his property was ordered to be restored; and he ordered

to be liberated.* Nothing is known of him afterwards until 1505, when he is said to have made another voyage.†

In the mean time, Columbus had conceived the idea of a voyage in which he hoped to surpass all previous expeditions. His idea was that the Terra Firma on which he landed in his voyage to Paria stretched far to the west; that the southern coast of Cuba, which he considered a part of the Asiatic continent, stretched onwards towards the same point; that the currents of the Caribbean sea passed between these lands; and that there must be a strait thereabout, opening into the Indian sea. When Columbus unfolded his plan for a voyage to discover such a passage, and thus link the new world with the opulent oriental regions of the old, it was promptly acceded to. He was authorized to fit out an armament immediately, and for this purpose repaired to Seville in the autumn of 1501. When Columbus undertook this, his fourth and last voyage of discovery, he already numbered sixty-six years. His squadron consisted of four caravels, from fifty to seventy tons each; the crews amounting in all to one hundred and fifty men. He had the comfort of his brother Bartholomew and his son Fernando as companions. The squadron sailed from Cadiz in May 1502, and arrived on the 15th of June at one of the Caribbee islands, called by the natives Mantinino. Then it passed to the west of the island and sailed to Dominica, about ten leagues distant. Columbus continued along the inside of the Antilles, to Santa Cruz,

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 46 to 53. † Id. p. 54.

then along the south side of Porto Rico. His principal vessel sailing badly, he steered for San Domingo, to exchange it for one of the fleet which had recently conveyed Ovando to his government.*

Columbus arrived at the mouth of the river the 29th of June. The fleet which brought out Ovando was now ready to return to Spain, with many delinquents and others on board. Bobadilla was to embark in the principal ship, on board of which he had put an immense amount of gold collected for the crown during his government. Roldan and other adventurers likewise shipped large quantities of gold. This was wealth gained from the sufferings of the unhappy natives. In one of the ships Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the agent of Columbus, had put four thousand pieces of gold to be remitted to him; being part of his property which had either been recently collected, or recovered from the hands of Bobadilla.†

Columbus apprehending an approaching storm requested permission to shelter his squadron in the harbour, but this was not granted. He then sent to the governor not to permit the fleet for Spain to put to sea for several days, as there were signs of an impending tempest. This admonition was not heeded. The fleet set sail, but had scarcely reached the eastern point of Hispaniola, when the tempest burst over it with awful fury. The ship on board of which were Bobadilla, Roldan and a number of the most inveterate enemies of Columbus, was swallowed up with all its crew, and with the principal part of the ill-gotten treasure, gained by the miseries of the Indians. Many

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 76 to 83. † Id. p. 83, 4.

of the ships were entirely lost: some returned to San Domingo in shattered condition, and only one was enabled to continue her voyage to Spain. That one, the weakest of the fleet (it is said) had on board the four thousand pieces of gold, the property of the admiral.* Bastides also returned in her to Spain, where he was rewarded by his sovereigns.†

During the early part of this storm, the little squadron of Columbus was tolerably well sheltered. On the second day, the tempest increased in violence; at night, it being dark, the ships were separated. The admiral, keeping close to the shore, sustained no damage: the others, fearful of the land, ran out to sea and were in great hazard. After various vicissitudes, all arrived safe at Port Hermoso, to the west of San Domingo.‡

Columbus remained for several days in Port Hermoso to repair his vessels and permit his crews to repose. Soon after leaving this harbour, he had to take shelter from another storm in Jacquemel, or, as it was called by the Spaniards, Port Brazil. Thence he sailed on the 14th of July, steering for Terra Firma. He was borne by the currents in the vicinity of some little islands near Jamaica; then swept away to those on the southern coast of Cuba, to which in 1494, he had given the name of The Gardens. He now stood to the southwest, and, after a few days, discovered on the 30th of July, a small but elevated island, to which, from its number of pines, he gave the name of Isla de Pinos; it has, however, retained the Indian name of Guanaja, which has been extended to a number of

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 84, 5. † Id. p. 102. ‡ Id. p. 85, 6.

smaller islands that surround it. This groupe is within a few leagues of the coast of Honduras, to the east of the great bay of that name. Bartholomew landed with some of the men on the principal island, and saw a canoe arriving as from a distant voyage; he gathered from the Indians in it that they came from a country rich, cultivated and industrious, situated to the west, and was urged by them to steer in that direction. "Well would it have been for Columbus," Mr. Irving remarks, "had he followed their advice. Within a day or two, he would have arrived at Yucatan; the discovery of Mexico and the other opulent countries of New Spain would have necessarily followed; the Southern ocean would have been disclosed to him, and a succession of splendid discoveries would have shed fresh glory on his declining age, instead of its sinking amidst gloom, neglect and disappointment."*

The admiral, however, was, at present intent upon discovering the strait. He stood southwardly for the main land, and after sailing a few leagues discovered the cape now known as Cape Honduras. Proceeding along what is at present called the coast of Honduras, he arrived on the 14th of September at a cape where the coast, making an angle, turned directly south, to which he gave the name of Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God. After doubling this cape, Columbus sailed south along what is now called the Musquito shore. After sailing about sixty-two leagues along this coast, the squadron anchored on the 16th, where a boat sent to the shore was, in returning,

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 87, 8.

swallowed up by a sudden swelling of the sea, with all on board: to this stream was given the name of The River of Disaster. On the 25th, they cast anchor between a small island and the main land, where they remained for several days, during which they were kindly treated by the natives. Departing on the 5th of October, the squadron sailed along what is now called Costa Rica, (or the Rich Coast,) from the mines found in after years among its mountains. After sailing about twenty-two leagues, the ships anchored in a great bay about six leagues in length and three in breadth, called by the natives Caribaro. Sailing on the 17th, he proceeded along what has been since called the coast of Veragua, and after sailing about twelve leagues, arrived at a large river which his son Fernando calls the Guaig. He anchored afterwards in the mouth of another river called the Catiba, where nineteen plates of pure gold were procured. Here, for the first time in the new world the Spaniards met with signs of solid architecture, finding a great mass of stone and lime; an indication that they were in or near countries where the arts were in a higher state of cultivation than in those before discovered. Columbus hurried along this coast, where wealth was to be gathered at every step, for the purpose of seeking a strait, which however it might produce vast benefit to mankind, could yield little else to himself than the glory of the discovery.*

On the 2d of November, the squadron anchored in a spacious and commodious harbour, to which Columbus gave the name of Puerto Bello; this it

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 88 to 99.

has retained. Sailing on the 9th, they proceeded to the point since known as Nombre de Dios, but being driven back, anchored in a harbour in the vicinity of three small islands, where they remained till the 23d, and then proceeded to another port called Guiga. He next stopped in a small harbour, to which he gave the name of El Retrete, or The Cabinet, where the squadron was detained nine days by tempestuous weather. The companions of Columbus now murmured against any further prosecution of the voyage; they looked back with regret on the rich coast they had left behind. Bastides, in his recent voyage, had arrived from an opposite quarter to about where Columbus had now reached. If Columbus knew the details of this voyage, he must now have seen there was but little probability of the existence of the strait he had imagined. But it is doubtful, at least, whether Columbus was then acquainted with the particulars of the voyage of Bastides. They could scarcely have reached Spain previous to his sailing. For though some of the seamen of Bastides had got thither before that time, we have no evidence that the papers and charts pertaining to the voyage had then been transmitted. And though Bastides was on board the fleet which was wrecked at the time Columbus was off San Domingo, Columbus had no opportunity of obtaining any information from him. However this may be, Columbus relinquished the further prosecution of his voyage eastward for the present, and on the 5th of December sailed from El Retrete westward, in search of the gold mines of Veragua.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 100 to 103.

Bartholomew Columbus went into the interior to explore the country. No port was found equal to the river of Belen, nor was gold to be met with in such abundance as in the district of Veragua. The admiral was convinced that he had reached one of the most favoured parts of the Asiatic continent. He resolved to commence an establishment here for the purpose of securing possession of the country, and of exploring and working the mines. It was agreed that Bartholomew should remain with eighty men, while the admiral would return to Spain for reinforcements and supplies. But the serious hostilities which quickly occurred, caused this purpose to be abandoned, even after Columbus was aboard and about to proceed on his voyage. There appeared no alternative but to embark all the people, abandon the settlement for the present, and return at some future day with a force competent to secure the possession of the country.*

Towards the end of April 1503, Columbus sailed from the coast of Veragua. He continued eastward as far as Porto Bello, where he was obliged to leave one of the caravels, which was so pierced by the worms that it was impossible to keep her afloat. All the crews were now crowded into two caravels; one having been left stranded in the river near Belen. Columbus passed Port Retrete and a number of islands, to which he gave the name of Las Barbas, now termed the Mulatas, a little beyond Point Blas. Continuing about ten leagues further, he approached the entrance of what is at present called the gulf of

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 103 to 125.

Darien. On the 1st of May, he stood northward, in quest of Hispaniola. On the 10th, he came in sight of two small islands now known as the Caymans. Continuing north, he found himself, on the 30th, among the islands south of Cuba, which he had named the Queen's Gardens. Here the vessels were greatly injured by a tempest. At the end of six days, he took an eastward course. Reaching Cape Cruz, he anchored at a village where he had touched in 1494. Being prevented by adverse winds from beating up to Hispaniola, he stood, in despair, for the island of Jamaica, to seek some secure port; for there was great danger of foundering at sea. On the eve of St. John, the 23d of June, he put into Puerto Bueno, now called Dry Harbour, but meeting none of the natives, and suffering from hunger, they sailed eastward next day to another harbour, to which the admiral, on his first visit to the island, had given the name of Port Santa Gloria. Here the vessels, reduced to mere wrecks, had to be run aground: thatched cabins were erected at the prow and stern, for the accommodation of the crews.*

Arrangements being made with the natives for supplying the immediate wants of the Spaniards, Columbus next revolved in his mind the means of getting from the island. The most likely measure appeared to be, to send to San Domingo and entreat Ovando to dispatch a vessel. But there was no way of transporting a messenger, except in a light canoe; and the distance being forty leagues across a gulf, every one drew back at the thoughts of it. Diego Mendez

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 126 to 129.

ventured his life on this occasion. With him went a Spanish comrade and six Indians. Once they were taken by Indians roving in canoes, but made their escape, and at length arrived at the end of the island, distant thirty-four leagues from the harbour. While waiting here for calm weather, they were taken prisoners by hostile Indians, who carried them off three leagues, intending to kill them. During a dispute about the division of the spoils, Diego escaped, got to his canoe, embarked in it and returned alone to the harbour, after fifteen days absence. Nothing daunted by what he had undergone, Diego offered to depart again, provided he could have persons to accompany him to the end of the island and protect him from the natives. This was done, and two canoes started, in one of which was Diego, and in the other Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese; each having six Spaniards and ten Indians.*

A long time elapsed without any tidings of Mendez and Fiesco. Yet after a trying voyage, they had reached Cape Tiburon in four days from their quitting Jamaica. Mendez took six Indians of the island and set off to coast in his canoe, one hundred and thirty leagues to San Domingo. After proceeding for eighty leagues, he was informed that the governor had departed for Xaragua, fifty leagues distant. He abandoned his canoe and proceeded alone and on foot, through forests and over mountains, until he arrived at Xaragua, achieving one of the most perilous expeditions ever undertaken by a devoted follower, for the safety of his com-

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 130 to 136.

mander. Ovando made many promises of sending immediate relief, but suffered day after day, week after week, and even month after month to elapse without carrying his promises into effect. Mendez remained for seven months in Xaragua, detained there under various pretexts by Ovando. At length, by importunity, obtaining permission to go to San Domingo, he set out on foot for that place, distant seventy leagues, to await the arrival of certain ships which were expected, of which he proposed to purchase one on account of the admiral. It was not until after his departure, that Ovando dispatched a small vessel with a message to Columbus, expressing regret at not having in port a vessel of sufficient size to bring off him and his people, and promising to send one as soon as possible. This message was received eight months after the departure of Mendez. In the mean time, the men left behind with Columbus had become impatient. There had been a mutiny, and most of those in health, taking ten canoes which he had purchased from the Indians, had embarked in them, but after going to sea, had returned to the island and lived at large about it. In a rencontre with Bartholomew Columbus, their ringleader Parras was taken and the rest submitted. Two vessels were afterwards seen standing in the harbour; one of which had been hired and furnished at the expense of the admiral, by the faithful Mendez: the other had been fitted out by Ovando. On the 28th of June 1504, just one year after Mendez had arrived at Hispaniola, Columbus and his men sailed thither from Jamaica.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 136 to 158.

Mendez having seen the ships depart, proceeded to Spain on the further concerns of the admiral. When King Ferdinand heard of the faithful services of Mendez, he bestowed rewards upon him, and permitted him to bear a canoe on his coat of arms. He continued devotedly attached to the admiral, serving him zealously after his return to Spain, and during his last illness. Columbus retained the most grateful and affectionate sense of his fidelity. Mendez afterwards engaged in voyages of discovery in vessels of his own, but met with many vicissitudes, and appears to have died in impoverished circumstances. In his will he desired that a large stone should be placed upon his sepulchre, on which should be engraved certain words which he directed, and on the model of which there should be carved an Indian canoe, with the word CANOA engraved above it in large letters.*

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 158, 9.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the voyage of Americus Vespucius to Brazil in 1503: and the name of America given to this part of the world.

In the preface of the French editor to the History of the Province of Santa Cruz, referred to on page 108, it is stated that after the voyage in 1501, under Gonsaloe Coella, the coast of that province was, in the succeeding years, visited several times by Portuguese navigators who went to the Indias; among others, by Alfonso d'Albuquerque in 1503.

The letter of the 4th of September 1504, from Americus Vespucius to Piero Soderini, giving an account of his last voyage under the King of Portugal, states that six ships sailed from Lisbon on the 10th of May 1503 to make discoveries with regard to an island in the east, called Malacca; that after stopping three days at the Cape de Verd islands, they sailed in a southerly direction; that the superior captain went to reconnoitre Sierra Leone, without there being any necessity for it; that they sailed from there to the south, and bore southwest; that after sailing three hundred leagues through the great sea, being then three degrees south of the equinoctial line, an island was discovered about twenty-two leagues distant, very high, and not more than two leagues in length and one in width, and the superior captain there lost his ship upon a rock, and went himself to the bottom; that his (Vespucius') ship and one other arrived in seventeen

days at the Bay of All Saints, distant three hundred leagues from the island they had left, and after waiting two months and four days in this harbour, without being joined by any other ship, proceeded along the coast two hundred and sixty leagues, where they built a fortress; that they were in this port five months, building the fortress and loading the ships with dye wood; and during this time some of the men went forty leagues inland; that being unable to proceed farther for want of men and equipments, they determined to return to Portugal, leaving twenty-four men in the fortress with provisions for six months, twelve pieces of cannon and many other arms; that this country was situated eighteen degrees south of the equinoctial line, and fifty-seven degrees farther west than Lisbon; that in seventy-seven days the two ships entered Lisbon, to wit, on the 15th of June 1504, the other ships of the fleet having been lost.*

The name of America was first given to the province explored by Americus in his two voyages of 1501 and 1503. Next it embraced the whole southern continent. And afterwards it became the appellation of the whole of the new world.† More than two centuries ago it was said that it "most justly should have been called Columbina, and a great deal better might have been styled Cabotiana than America."‡ A few years ago it was attempted to give to the British provinces of the northern continent the name of Cabotia.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 250, 51, Appendix No. 10. Life of Americus Vespucius, by Lester and Foster, p. 238 to 243.

† N. A. Review April 1821, p. 339, 340. Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 250, Appendix No. 10. Life of Americus Vespucius, p. 248 to 255.

‡ Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4, book 6, ch. 4, p. 177.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the return of Columbus from the West Indias to Spain in 1504, and his death in 1506: observations on his character.

Though Columbus and his men left Jamaica on the 28th of June 1504, adverse winds delayed his arrival at San Domingo till the 13th of August. The sojourn of Columbus at San Domingo was but little calculated to yield him satisfaction. He was grieved at the desolation of the island by the oppressive treatment of the natives and the horrible massacres which had been perpetrated. The sanguinary acts of Ovando awakened equal horror and indignation in Isabella. With her dying breath, she exacted a promise from Ferdinand that Ovando should immediately be recalled from his government.*

On the 12th of September, Columbus sailed with his son and brother. They had a tedious voyage; it was the 7th of November that his shattered bark anchored in the harbour of San Lucar. Hence Columbus had himself conveyed to Seville. Soon afterwards he lost the friend on whom he most relied. After four months of illness, Isabella died on the 26th of November 1504, at Medina del Campo. During the winter and a part of the spring, Columbus continued at Seville, detained by painful illness. He had to rely

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 160 to 182.

upon others to support his applications to the court. One of these was Americus Vespucius, who being at Seville early in 1505, on his way to the Spanish court, in quest of employment, became the bearer of the following letter from Columbus to his son Diego; it is dated February 5.*

"MY DEAR SON,—Diego Mendez departed from hence on Monday, the third of this month. After his departure I conversed with Amerigo Vespucci, the bearer of this, who goes there (to court) summoned on affairs of navigation. Fortune has been adverse to him as to many others. His labours have not profited him as much as they reasonably should have done. He goes on my account, and with much desire to do something that may result to my advantage, if within his power. I cannot ascertain here in what I can employ him, that will be serviceable to me, for I do not know what may be there required. He goes with the determination to do all that is possible for me. See in what he may be of advantage and co-operate with him, that he may say and do every thing, and put his plans in operation; and let all be done secretly, that he may not be suspected. I have said every thing to him that I can say touching the business, and have informed him of the pay I have received, and what is due, &c."†

Mr. Lester argues that Columbus would not have written a letter like this if Vespucius had been engaged in injuring his reputation.‡ This argument would be very proper if it could be shewn that Vespucius had before the date of this letter, asserted to Columbus, or in any public manner, the pretension of

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 190; also p. 251, Appendix No. 10.
† Navarrete, Collec. Viag. T. 1, p. 351. ‡ Life of Vespucius, p. 105.

his discovering the continent of South America in 1497, but we have no evidence that any such pretension had been so asserted. The accounts of such a voyage, purporting to have been written to Lorenzo de Pier Francisco de Medici of Florence, and to others, remained unpublished till after the death of Columbus.*

It was not until May 1505, that Columbus was able, in company with his brother Bartholomew, to accomplish his journey to court, which was at that time held at Segovia. Many months were exhausted by him in unavailing attendance. Life was now drawing to a close. He was again confined to the bed, by a tormenting attack of the gout, aggravated by sorrow and disappointment. One of his last acts was to send his brother to King Philip and Queen Juana, who had just arrived from Flanders to take possession of the throne of Castile; in the daughter of Isabella, he trusted to find a patroness and friend. After the departure of Bartholomew, his maladies increased in violence. He died on the 20th of May 1506, being seventy years old, a little more or less. His last words were "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum:*" into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!†

His body was deposited in the convent of St. Francisco, but was transported in 1513 to the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville to the chapel of St. Ann, or of Santo Christo, in which chapel was likewise deposited that of his son Diego who died

*Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 249, Appendix No. 10.
†Id. p. 191 to 198, and 229, Appendix No. 4.

in the village of Montalban on the 23d of February 1526. In 1536 the bodies of both were removed to Hispaniola and interred in the principal chapel of the cathedral of the City of San Domingo. More than two centuries afterwards, when by the treaty of 1795 between France and Spain, all the Spanish possessions in the island of Hispaniola were ceded to France, the remains of Columbus were carried to Havana and deposited with great reverence, in the cathedral, in the wall on the right side of the grand altar.*

About the same period the new world gave birth to an historian who has by his writings perpetuated the fame of Columbus, and erected to his memory a monument far more lasting than that ordered by Ferdinand. This chapter cannot be better concluded than with the following beautiful tribute from Mr. Irving:†

"Columbus was a man of great and inventive genius. The operations of his mind were energetic but irregular; bursting forth at times with that irresistible force which characterizes intellects of such an order. His mind had grasped all kinds of knowledge connected with his pursuits; and though his information may appear limited at the present day, and some of his errors palpable, it is because that knowledge, in his peculiar department of science, was but scantily developed in his time. His own discoveries enlightened the ignorance of that age; guided conjecture to certainty; and dispelled numerous errors with which he himself had been obliged to struggle.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 198; also p. 209 to 212, Appendix No. 1.
† Id. p. 200 to 205.

"His ambition was lofty and noble. He was full of high thoughts, and anxious to distinguish himself by great achievements. It has been said that a mercenary feeling mingled with his views, and that his stipulations with the Spanish court were selfish and avaracious. The charge is inconsiderate and unjust. He aimed at dignity and wealth in the same lofty spirit in which he sought renown; but they were to arise from the territories he should discover, and be commensurate in importance. No condition could be more just. He asked nothing of the sovereigns but a command of the countries he hoped to give them, and a share of the profits to support the dignity of his command. If there should be no country discovered, his stipulated viceroyalty would be of no avail; and if no revenues should be produced, his labour and peril would produce no gain. If his command and revenues ultimately proved magnificent, it was from the magnificence of the regions he had attached to the Castilian crown. What monarch would not rejoice to gain empire on such conditions?

"But he did not merely risk a loss of labour and a disappointment of ambition in the enterprise: on his motives being questioned, he voluntarily undertook, and, with the assistance of his coadjutors, actually defrayed one eighth of the whole charge of the first expedition.

"The gains that promised to arise from his discoveries were intended to be appropriated in the same princely spirit in which they were demanded. He contemplated works and achievements of benevolence and piety; vast contributions for the relief of the poor of his native city; the foundation of churches where masses should be said for the souls of the departed; and armies for the recovery of the holy sepulchre in Palestine.

"In the discharge of his office he maintained the state and ceremonial of a viceroy, and was tenacious of his rank and privileges: not from a mere vulgar love of titles, but

because he prized them as testimonials and trophies of his achievements. These he jealously cherished as his great rewards. In his repeated applications to the king, he insisted merely on the restitution of his dignities. As to his pecuniary dues and all questions relative to mere revenue, he offered to leave them to arbitration, or even to the absolute disposition of the king; but not so his official dignities; "these things," said he nobly, "affect my honour." In his testament, he enjoined on his son Diego, and whoever after him should inherit his estates, whatever dignities and titles might afterwards be granted by the king, always to sign himself simply 'The Admiral,' by way of perpetuating in the family its real source of greatness.

"His conduct as a discoverer was characterized by the grandeur of his views, and the magnanimity of his spirit. Instead of scouring the newly found countries, like a grasping adventurer eager only for immediate gain, as was too generally the case with contemporary discoverers, he sought to ascertain their soil and productions, their rivers and harbours. He was desirous of colonizing and cultivating them, of conciliating and civilizing the natives, of building cities, introducing the useful arts, subjecting every thing to the control of law, order and religion, and thus of founding regular and prosperous empires. In this glorious plan, he was constantly defeated by the dissolute rabble which it was his misfortune to command; with whom all law was tyranny, and all order restraint. They interrupted all useful works by their seditions; provoked the peaceful Indians to hostility; and after they had thus drawn down misery and warfare upon their own heads, and overwhelmed Columbus with the ruins of the edifice he was building, they charged him with being the cause of the confusion.

"Well would it have been for Spain, had her discoverers who followed in the track of Columbus possessed his sound policy and liberal views. The new world, in such case,

would have been settled by peaceful colonists, and civilized by enlightened legislators, instead of being overrun by desperate adventurers, and desolated by avaricious conquerors.

"Columbus was a man of quick sensibility, liable to great excitement, to sudden and strong impressions, and powerful impulses. He was naturally irritable and impetuous, and keenly sensible to injury or injustice; yet the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. The magnanimity of his nature shone forth through all the troubles of his stormy career. Though continually outraged in his dignity, and braved in the exercise of his command; though foiled in his plans, and endangered in his person by the seditions of turbulent and worthless men; and that too at times when suffering under anxiety of mind and anguish of body, sufficient to exasperate the most patient; yet he restrained his valiant and indignant spirit; and by the strong power of his mind, brought himself to forbear, and reason, and even to supplicate: nor should we fail to notice how free he was from all feeling of revenge; how ready to forgive and forget, on the least signs of repentance and atonement. He has been extolled for his skill in controlling others, but far greater praise is due to him for the firmness he displayed in governing himself.

"His natural benignity made him accessible to all kinds of pleasurable influences from external objects. In his letters and journals, instead of detailing circumstances with the technical precision of a mere navigator, he notices the beauties of nature with the enthusiasm of a poet or a painter. As he coasts the shores of the New World, the reader participates in the enjoyment with which he describes, in his imperfect but picturesque Spanish, the varied objects around him; the blandness of the temperature, the purity of the atmosphere, the fragrance of the air, 'full of dew and sweetness,' the verdure of the forests, the magnificence of

the trees, the grandeur of the mountains, and the limpidity and freshness of the running streams. New delight springs up for him in every scene. He extols each new discovery as more beautiful than the last, and each as the most beautiful in the world; until with his simple earnestness, he tells the sovereigns, that having spoken so highly of the preceding islands, he fears they will not credit him when he declares that the one he is actually describing surpasses them all in excellence.

"In the same ardent and unstudied way he expresses his emotions on various occasions, readily affected by impulses of joy or grief, of pleasure or indignation. When surrounded and overwhelmed by the ingratitude and violence of worthless men, he often, in the retirement of his cabin, gave way to gushes of sorrow, and relieved his overladen heart by sighs and groans. When he returned in chains to Spain, and came in the presence of Isabella, instead of continuing the lofty pride with which he had hitherto sustained his injuries, he was touched with grief and tenderness at her sympathy, and burst forth into sobs and tears.

"He was devoutly pious: religion mingled with the whole course of his thoughts and actions, and shone forth in all his most private and unstudied writings. Whenever he made any great discovery, he celebrated it by solemn thanks to God. The voice of prayer, and the melody of praise, rose from his ships when they first beheld the New World, and his first action on landing, was to prostrate himself upon the earth and render up thanksgivings. Every evening the *Salve Regina* and other vesper hymns were chanted by his crew, and masses were performed in the beautiful groves that bordered the wild shores of this heathen land. The religion thus deeply seated in his soul diffused a sober dignity and a benign composure over his whole demeanour. His language was pure and guarded, free from all imprecations, oaths and other irreverent ex-

pressions. All his great enterprises were undertaken 'in the name of the Holy Trinity,' and he partook of the holy sacrament previous to embarkation. He observed the festivals of the church in the wildest situations. The Sabbath was with him a day of sacred rest, on which he would never set sail from a port, unless in a case of extreme necessity. He was a firm believer in the efficacy of vows and penances and pilgrimages, and resorted to them in times of difficulty and danger; but he carried his religion still farther, and his piety was darkened by the bigotry of the age. He evidently concurred in the opinion that all nations who did not acknowledge the Christian faith were destitute of natural rights; that the sternest means might be used for their conversion, and the severest punishments inflicted upon their obstinacy in unbelief. In this spirit of bigotry he considered himself justified in making captives of the Indians, and transporting them to Spain to have them taught the doctrines of Christianity, and in selling them for slaves, if they pretended to resist his invasions. In doing the latter, he sinned against the natural goodness of his character, and against the feelings which he had originally entertained and expressed towards this gentle and hospitable people; but he was goaded on by the mercenary impatience of the crown, and by the sneers of his enemies at the unprofitable result of his enterprises. It is but justice to his character to observe, that the enslavement of the Indians thus taken in battle was at first openly countenanced by the crown, and that when the question of right came to be discussed at the instance of the queen, several of the most distinguished jurists and theologians advocated the practice, so that the question was finally settled in favour of the Indians by the humanity of Isabella. As the venerable Bishop Las Casas observes, where the most learned men have doubted, it is not surprising that an unlearned mariner should err.

"These remarks in palliation of the conduct of Columbus are required by candour. It is proper to show him in connexion with the age in which he lived, lest the errors of the time should be considered his individual faults. It is not the intention of the author, however, to justify Columbus on a point where it is inexcusable to err. Let it remain a blot on his illustrious name, and let others derive a lesson from it.

"A peculiar trait in his rich and varied character remains to be noticed; that ardent and enthusiastic imagination which threw a magnificence over his whole course of thought. Herrera intimates that he had a talent for poetry, and some slight traces of it are on record, in the book of prophecies which he presented to the Catholic sovereigns. But his poetical temperament is discernible throughout all his writings, and in all his actions. It spread a golden and glorious world around him, and tinged every thing with its own gorgeous colours. It betrayed him into visionary speculations, which subjected him to the sneers and cavillings of men of cooler and safer, but more grovelling minds. Such were the conjectures formed on the coast of Paria about the form of the earth and the situation of the terrestrial paradise; about the mines of Ophir in Hispaniola, and of the Aurea Chersonesus in Veragua; and such was the heroic scheme of a crusade for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. It mingled with his religion, and filled his mind with solemn and visionary meditations on mystic passages of the scriptures, and the shadowy portents of the prophecies. It exalted his office in his eyes, and made him conceive himself an agent sent forth upon a sublime and awful mission, subject to impulses and supernatural intimations from the deity; such as the voice which he imagined spoke to him in comfort, amidst the troubles of Hispaniola, and in the silence of the night on the disastrous coast of Veragua.

"He was decidedly a visionary; but a visionary of an uncommon and successful kind. The manner in which his ardent, imaginative and mercurial nature was controlled by a powerful judgment, and directed by an acute sagacity, is the most extraordinary feature in his character. Thus governed, his imagination, instead of exhausting itself in idle flights, lent aid to his judgment, and enabled him to form conclusions, at which common minds could never have arrived, nay, which they could not perceive when pointed out.

"To his intellectual vision it was given to read in the signs of the times, and to trace in the conjectures and reveries of past ages, the indications of an unknown world: as soothsayers were said to read predictions in the stars, and to foretel events from the visions of the night. 'His soul,' observes a Spanish writer, 'was superior to the age in which he lived. For him was reserved the great enterprise of traversing a sea which had given rise to so many fables, and of deciphering the mystery of his time.'*

"With all the visionary fervour of his imagination, its fondest dreams fell short of the reality. He died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery. Until his last breath, he entertained the idea that he had merely opened a new way to the old resorts of opulent commerce, and had discovered some of the wild regions of the east. He supposed Hispaniola to be the ancient Ophir, which had been visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba and Terra Firma were but remote parts of Asia. What visions of glory would have broken upon his mind, could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent, equal to the whole of the old world in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans from all the earth hitherto known by civilized man! And how would his magnani-

* Cladera, Investigaciones Historicas, p. 43.

mous spirit have been consoled, amidst the afflictions of age, and the cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public, and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the splendid empires which were to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered, and the nations, and tongues, and languages, which were to fill its lands with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!"

CHAPTER XV.

Of the little port of Palos, where Columbus fitted out his ships: a pilgrimage to it by an American.

The following narrative was commenced by Mr. Irving as a letter to a friend. It was inserted by him in the Appendix to his volume of Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus, from an idea (justly entertained,) that many would feel the same sort of curiosity to know something of the condition of Palos and its inhabitants that led him to make a journey thither.

"SEVILLE, 1828.

"Since I last wrote to you I have made, what I may term, an American Pilgrimage, to visit the little port of Palos in Andalusia, where Columbus fitted out his ships, and whence he sailed for the discovery of the New World. Need I tell you how deeply interesting and gratifying it has been to me? I had long meditated this excursion as a kind of pious, and if I may so say, filial duty of an American, and my intention was quickened when I learnt that many of the edifices mentioned in the history of Columbus still remained in nearly the same state in which they existed at the time of his sojourn at Palos, and that the descendants of the intrepid Pinzons, who aided him with ships and money, and sailed with him in the great voyage of discovery, still flourished in the neighbourhood.

"The very evening before my departure from Seville on the excursion, I heard that there was a young gentleman of the Pinzon family studying law in the city. I got introduced to him, and found him of most prepossessing appearance and manners. He gave me a letter of introduction to his father, Don Juan Fernandez Pinzon, resident of Moguer, and the present head of the family.

"As it was in the middle of August, and the weather intensely hot, I hired a calesa for the journey. This is a two-wheeled carriage, resembling a cabriolet, but of the most primitive and rude construction; the harness is profusely ornamented with brass, and the horse's head decorated with tufts and tassels and dangling bobs of scarlet and yellow worsted. I had, for calasero, a tall, long-legged Andalusian, in short jacket, little round-crowned hat, breeches decorated with buttons from the hip to the knees, and a pair of russet leather bottinas or spatterdashes. He was an active fellow, though uncommonly taciturn for an Andalusian, and strode along beside his horse, rousing him occasionally to greater speed by a loud malediction or a hearty thwack of his cudgel.

"In this style I set off late in the day to avoid the noontide heat, and after ascending the lofty range of hills that borders the great valley of the Guadalquiver, and having a rough ride among their heights, I descended about twilight into one of those vast, silent, melancholy plains, frequent in Spain, where I beheld no other signs of life than a roaming flock of bustards, and a distant herd of cattle, guarded by a solitary herdsman, who, with a long pike planted in the earth, stood motionless in the midst of the dreary landscape, resembling an Arab of the desert. The night had somewhat advanced when we stopped to repose for a few hours at a solitary venta or inn, if it might so be called, being nothing more than a vast low-roofed stable, divided into several compartments for the reception of the

troops of mules and arrieros (or carriers) who carry on the internal trade of Spain. Accommodation for the traveller there was none—not even for a traveller so easily accommodated as myself. The landlord had no food to give me, and as to a bed, he had none but a horse cloth, on which his only child, a boy of eight years old, lay naked on the earthen floor. Indeed the heat of the weather and the fumes from the stables made the interior of the hovel insupportable, so I was fain to bivouac on my cloak on the pavement at the door of the venta, where, on waking after two or three hours of sound sleep, I found a contrabandista (or smuggler) snoring beside me, with his blunderbuss on his arm.

"I resumed my journey before break of day, and had made several leagues by ten o'clock, when we stopped to breakfast, and to pass the sultry hours of midday in a large village, from whence we departed about four o'clock, and, after passing through the same kind of solitary country, arrived just after sunset at Moguer. This little city (for at present it is a city) is situated about a league from Palos, of which place it has gradually absorbed all the respectable inhabitants, and, among the number, the whole family of the Pinzons.

"So remote is this little place from the stir and bustle of travel, and so destitute of the show and vainglory of this world, that my calesa as it rattled and jingled along the narrow and ill-paved streets caused a great sensation; the children shouted and scampered along by its side, admiring its splendid trappings of brass and worsted, and gazing with reverence at the important stranger who came in so gorgeous an equipage.

"I drove up to the principal posada, the landlord of which was at the door. He was one of the very civilest men in the world, and disposed to do every thing in his power to make me comfortable; there was only one diffi-

culty, he had neither bed nor bed-room in his house. In fact, it was a mere venta for muleteers, who are accustomed to sleep on the ground with their mule cloths for beds and pack-saddles for pillows. It was a hard case, but there was no better posada in the place. Few people travel for pleasure or curiosity in these out-of-the-way parts of Spain, and those of any note are generally received into private houses. I had travelled sufficiently in Spain to find out that a bed, after all, is not an article of indispensable necessity, and was about to bespeak some quiet corner where I might spread my cloak, when fortunately the landlord's wife came forth. She could not have a more obliging disposition than her husband, but then—God bless the women!—they always know how to carry their good wishes into effect. In a little while a small room about ten feet square, that had formed a thoroughfare between the stables and a kind of shop or bar room, was cleared of a variety of lumber, and I was assured that a bed should be put up there for me. From the consultations I saw my hostess holding with some of her neighbour gossips, I fancied the bed was to be a kind of piece-meal contribution among them for the credit of the house.

"As soon as I could change my dress, I commenced the historical researches which were the object of my journey, and inquired for the abode of Don Juan Fernandez Pinzon. My obliging landlord himself volunteered to conduct me thither, and I set off full of animation at the thoughts of meeting with the lineal representative of one of the coadjutors of Columbus.

"A short walk brought us to the house, which was most respectable in its appearance, indicating easy, if not affluent circumstances. The door, as is customary in Spanish villages, during summer, stood wide open. We entered with the usual salutation or rather summons, 'Ave Maria!' A trim Andalusian handmaid answered to the call, and, on

our inquiring for the master of the house, led the way across a little patio or court, in the centre of the edifice, cooled by a fountain surrounded by shrubs and flowers, to a back court or terrace, likewise set out with flowers, where Don Juan Fernandez was seated with his family, enjoying the serene evening in the open air.

"I was much pleased with his appearance. He was a venerable old gentleman, tall and somewhat thin, with fair complexion and grey hair. He received me with great urbanity, and on reading the letter from his son, appeared struck with surprise to find I had come quite to Moguer, merely to visit the scene of the embarkation of Columbus; and still more so on my telling him, that one of my leading objects of curiosity was his own family connexion; for it would seem that the worthy cavalier had troubled his head but little about the enterprises of his ancestors.

"I now took my seat in the domestic circle and soon felt myself quite at home, for there is generally a frankness in the hospitality of Spaniards that soon puts a stranger at his ease beneath their roof. The wife of Don Juan Fernandez was extremely amiable and affable, possessing much of that natural aptness for which the Spanish women are remarkable. In the course of conversation with them, I learnt that Don Juan Fernandez, who is seventy-two years of age, is the eldest of five brothers, all of whom are married, have numerous offspring, and live in Moguer and its vicinity, in nearly the same condition and rank of life as at the time of the discovery. This agreed with what I had previously heard, respecting the families of the discoverers. Of Columbus no lineal and direct descendant exists; his was an exotic stock that never took deep and lasting root in the country; but the race of the Pinzons continues to thrive and multiply in its native soil.

"While I was yet conversing, a gentleman entered, who was introduced to me as Don Luis Fernandez Pinzon, the

youngest of the brothers. He appeared to be between fifty and sixty years of age, somewhat robust, with fair complexion and grey hair, and a frank and manly deportment. He is the only one of the present generation that has followed the ancient profession of the family; having served with great applause as an officer of the royal navy, from which he retired, on his marriage, about twenty-two years since. He is the one, also, who takes the greatest interest and pride in the historical honours of his house, carefully preserving all the legends and documents of the achievements and distinctions of his family, a manuscript volume of which he lent me for my inspection.

"Don Juan now expressed a wish that, during my residence in Moguer, I would make his house my home. I endeavoured to excuse myself, alleging, that the good people at the posada had been at such extraordinary trouble in preparing quarters for me, that I did not like to disappoint them. The worthy old gentleman undertook to arrange all this, and, while supper was preparing, we walked together to the posada. I found that my obliging host and hostess had indeed exerted themselves to an uncommon degree. An old ricketty table had been spread out in a corner of the little room as a bedstead, on top of which was propped up a grand *cama de luxo*, or state bed, which appeared to be the admiration of the house. I could not, for the soul of me, appear to undervalue what the poor people had prepared with such hearty good will, and considered such a triumph of art and luxury; so I again entreated Don Juan to dispense with my sleeping at his house, promising most faithfully to make my meals there, while I should stay at Moguer, and as the old gentleman understood my motives for declining his invitation, and felt a good humoured sympathy in them, we readily arranged the matter. I returned therefore with Don Juan to his house, and supped with his family. During the repast, a plan was

agreed upon for my visit to Palos, and to the convent La Rabida, in which Don Juan volunteered to accompany me and be my guide, and the following day was allotted to the expedition. We were to breakfast at a hacienda, or country seat, which he possessed in the vicinity of Palos, in the midst of his vineyards, and were to dine there on our return from the convent. These arrangements being made, we parted for the night; I returned to the posada highly gratified with my visit, and slept soundly in the extraordinary bed which, I may almost say, had been invented for my accommodation.

"On the following morning, bright and early, Don Juan Fernandez and myself set off in the calesa for Palos. I felt apprehensive at first, that the kind-hearted old gentleman, in his anxiety to oblige, had left his bed at too early an hour, and was exposing himself to fatigues unsuited to his age. He laughed at the idea, and assured me that he was an early riser, and accustomed to all kinds of exercise on horse and foot, being a keen sportsman, and frequently passing days together among the mountains on shooting expeditions, taking with him servants, horses and provisions, and living in a tent. He appeared, in fact, to be of an active habit, and to possess a youthful vivacity of spirit. His cheerful disposition rendered our morning drive extremely agreeable; his urbanity was shown to every one whom we met on the road; even the common peasant was saluted by him with the appellation of *caballero*, a mark of respect ever gratifying to the poor, but proud Spaniard, when yielded by a superior.

"As the tide was out, we drove along the flat grounds bordering the Tinto. The river was on our right, while on our left was a range of hills, jutting out into promontories, one beyond the other, and covered with vineyards and fig trees. The weather was serene, the air soft and balmy, and the landscape of that gentle kind calculated to put one

in a quiet and happy humour. We passed close by the skirts of Palos, and drove to the hacienda, which is situated at some little distance from the village, between it and the river. The house is a low stone building, well white-washed, and of great length; one end being fitted up as a summer residence, with saloons, bed-rooms, and a domestic chapel; and the other as a bodega or magazine for the reception of the wine produced on the estate.

"The house stands on a hill, amidst vineyards, which are supposed to cover a part of the scite of the ancient town of Palos, now shrunk to a miserable village. Beyond these vineyards, on the crest of a distant hill, are seen the white walls of the convent of La Rabida rising above a dark wood of pine trees.

"Below the hacienda flows the river Tinto, on which Columbus embarked. It is divided by a low tongue of land, or rather the sand bar of Saltes, from the river Odiel, with which it soon mingles its waters, and flows on to the ocean. Beside this sand bar, where the channel of the river runs deep, the squadron of Columbus was anchored, and from hence he made sail on the morning of his departure.

"The soft breeze that was blowing scarcely ruffled the surface of this beautiful river; two or three picturesque barks, called mysticks, with long latine sails, were gliding down it. A little aid of the imagination might suffice to picture them as the light caravels of Columbus, sallying forth on their eventful expedition, while the distant bells of the town of Huelva, which were ringing melodiously, might be supposed as cheering the voyagers with a farewell peal.

"I cannot express to you what were my feelings on treading the shore which had once been animated by the bustle of departure, and whose sands had been printed by the last footstep of Columbus. The solemn and sublime

nature of the event that had followed, together with the fate and fortunes of those concerned in it, filled the mind with vague yet melancholy ideas. It was like viewing the silent and empty stage of some great drama when all the actors had departed. The very aspect of the landscape, so tranquilly beautiful, had an effect upon me, and as I paced the deserted shore by the side of a descendant of one of the discoverers, I felt my heart swelling with emotions and my eyes filling with tears.

"What surprised me was to find no semblance of a seaport; there was neither wharf nor landing-place—nothing but a naked river bank, with the hulk of a ferry-boat, which I was told carried passengers to Huelva, lying high and dry on the sands, deserted by the tide. Palos, though it has doubtless dwindled away from its former size, can never have been important as to extent and population. If it possessed warehouses on the beach, they have disappeared. It is at present a mere village of the poorest kind, and lies nearly a quarter of a mile from the river, in a hollow among hills. It contains a few hundred inhabitants, who subsist principally by labouring in the fields and vineyards. Its race of merchants and mariners are extinct. There are no vessels belonging to the place, nor any show of traffic, excepting at the season of fruit and wine, when a few mysticks and other light barks anchor in the river to collect the produce of the neighbourhood. The people are totally ignorant, and it is probable that the greater part of them scarce know even the name of America. Such is the place from whence sallied forth the enterprise for the discovery of the western world!

"We were now summoned to breakfast in a little saloon of the hacienda. The table was covered with natural luxuries produced upon the spot—fine purple and muscatel grapes from the adjacent vineyard, delicious melons from the garden, and generous wines made on the estate. The

repast was heightened by the genial manners of my hospitable host, who appeared to possess the most enviable cheerfulness of spirit and simplicity of heart.

"After breakfast we set off in the calesa to visit the convent of La Rabida, which is about half a league distant. The road, for a part of the way, lay through the vineyards, and was deep and sandy. The calasero had been at his wit's end to conceive what motive a stranger like myself, apparently travelling for mere amusement, could have in coming so far to see so miserable a place as Palos, which he set down as one of the very poorest places in the whole world; but this additional toil and struggle through deep sand, to visit the old convent of La Rabida, completed his confusion—'Hombre!' exclaimed he, 'es una ruina! no hay mas que dos frailes!'—'Zounds! why it's a ruin! there are only two friars there!' Don Juan laughed, and told him that I had come all the way from Seville precisely to see that old ruin and those two friars. The calasero made the Spaniard's last reply when he is perplexed—he shrugged his shoulders and crossed himself.

"After ascending a hill and passing through the skirts of a straggling pine wood, we arrived in front of the convent. It stands in a bleak and solitary situation, on the brow of a rocky height or promontory, overlooking to the west a wide range of sea and land, bounded by the frontier mountains of Portugal, about eight leagues distant. The convent is shut out from a view of the vineyard of Palos by the gloomy forest of pines which I have mentioned, which cover the promontory to the east, and darken the whole landscape in that direction.

"There is nothing remarkable in the architecture of the convent; part of it is Gothic, but the edifice having been frequently repaired, and being whitewashed, according to a universal custom in Andalusia, inherited from the Moors, it has not that venerable aspect which might be expected from its antiquity.

"We alighted at the gate where Columbus, when a poor pedestrian, a stranger in the land, asked bread and water for his child! As long as the convent stands, this must be a spot calculated to awaken the most thrilling interest. The gate remains apparently in nearly the same state as at the time of his visit, but there is no longer a porter at hand to administer to the wants of the wayfarer. The door stood wide open, and admitted us into a small court yard. From thence we passed through a Gothic portal into the chapel, without seeing a human being. We then traversed two interior cloisters, equally vacant and silent, and bearing a look of neglect and dilapidation. From an open window we had a peep at what had once been a garden, but that had also gone to ruin; the walls were broken and thrown down; a few shrubs, and a scattered fig tree or two, were all the traces of cultivation that remained. We passed through the long dormitories, but the cells were shut up and abandoned; we saw no living thing except a solitary cat stealing across a distant corridor, which fled in a panic at the unusual sight of strangers. At length, after patrolling nearly the whole of the empty building to the echo of our own footsteps, we came to where the door of a cell, being partly open, gave us the sight of a monk within, seated at a table writing. He rose and received us with much civility, and conducted us to the superior, who was reading in an adjacent cell. They were both rather young men, and, together with a noviciate and a lay-brother, who officiated as cook, formed the whole community of the convent.

"Don Juan Fernandez communicated to them the object of my visit, and my desire also to inspect the archives of the convent to find if there was any record of the sojourn of Columbus. They informed us that the archives had been entirely destroyed by the French. The younger monk, however, who had perused them, had a vague recol-

lection of various particulars concerning the transactions of Columbus at Palos, his visit to the convent, and the sailing of his expedition. From all that he cited, however, it appeared to me that all the information on the subject contained in the archives, had been extracted from Herrera and other well known authors. The monk was talkative and eloquent, and soon diverged from the subject of Columbus, to one which he considered of infinitely greater importance;—the miraculous image of the Virgin possessed by their convent, and known by the name of 'Our Lady of La Rabida.' He gave us a history of the wonderful way in which the image had been found buried in the earth, where it had lain hidden for ages, since the time of the conquest of Spain by the Moors; the disputes between the convent and different places in the neighbourhood for the possession of it; the marvellous protection it extended to the adjacent country, especially in preventing all madness, either in man or dog, for this malady was anciently so prevalent in this place as to gain it the appellation of La Rabia, by which it was originally called; a name which, thanks to the beneficent influence of the Virgin, it no longer merited or retained. Such are the legends and reliques with which every convent in Spain is enriched, which are zealously cried up by the monks, and devoutly credited by the populace.

"Twice a year on the festival of our Lady of La Rabida, and on that of the patron saint of the order, the solitude and silence of the convent are interrupted by the intrusion of a swarming multitude, composed of the inhabitants of Moguer, of Huelva, and the neighbouring plains and mountains. The open esplanade in front of the edifice resembles a fair, the adjacent forest teems with the motley throng, and the image of our Lady of La Rabida is borne forth in triumphant procession.

"While the friar was thus dilating upon the merits and renown of the image, I amused myself with those day dreams, or conjurings of the imagination to which I am a little given. As the internal arrangements of convents are apt to be the same from age to age, I pictured to myself this chamber as the same inhabited by the guardian, Juan Perez de Marchena at the time of the visit of Columbus. Why might not the old and ponderous table before me be the very one on which he displayed his conjectural maps, and expounded his theory of a western route to India? It required but another stretch of the imagination to assemble the little conclave around the table; Juan Perez the friar, Garci Fernandez the physician, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon the bold navigator, all listening with wrapped attention to Columbus, or to the tale of some old seaman of Palos, about islands seen in the western parts of the ocean.

"The friars, as far as their poor means and scanty knowledge extended, were disposed to do every thing to promote the object of my visit. They showed us all parts of the convent, which, however, has little to boast of, excepting the historical associations connected with it. The library was reduced to a few volumes, chiefly on ecclesiastical subjects, piled promiscuously in the corner of a vaulted chamber, and covered with dust. The chamber itself was curious, being the most ancient part of the edifice, and supposed to have formed part of a temple in the time of the Romans.

"We ascended to the roof of the convent to enjoy the extensive prospect it commands. Immediately below the promontory on which it is situated, runs a narrow but tolerably deep river, called the Domingo Rubio, which empties itself into the Tinto. It is the opinion of Don Luis Fernandez Pinzon, that the ships of Columbus were careened and fitted out in this river, as it affords better shelter than the Tinto, and its shores are not so shallow. A lonely

bark of a fisherman was lying in this stream, and not far off, on a sandy point, were the ruins of an ancient watch-tower. From the roof of the convent, all the windings of the Odiel and the Tinto were to be seen, and their junction into the main stream, by which Columbus sallied forth to sea. In fact the convent serves as a landmark, being, from its lofty and solitary situation, visible for a considerable distance to vessels coming on the coast. On the opposite side I looked down upon the lonely road, through the wood of pine trees, by which the zealous guardian of the convent, Fray Juan Perez departed at midnight on his mule, when he sought the camp of Ferdinand and Isabella in the Vega of Granada, to plead the project of Columbus before the queen.

"Having finished our inspection of the convent, we prepared to depart, and were accompanied to the outward portal by the two friars. Our calasero brought his rattling and ricketty vehicle for us to mount; at sight of which one of the monks exclaimed, with a smile, 'Santa Maria! only to think! A calesa before the gate of the convent of La Rabida!' And, indeed, so solitary and remote is this ancient edifice, and so simple is the mode of living of the people in this bye-corner of Spain, that the appearance of even a sorry calesa might well cause astonishment. It is only singular that in such a bye-corner the scheme of Columbus should have found intelligent listeners and coadjutors, after it had been discarded, almost with scoffing and contempt, from learned universities and splendid courts.

"On our way back to the hacienda, we met Don Rafael, a younger son of Don Juan Fernandez, a fine young man about twenty-one years of age, and who, his father informed me, was at present studying French and mathematics. He was well mounted on a spirited grey horse, and dressed in the Adalusian style, with the little round hat and jacket. He sat his horse gracefully, and managed

him well. I was pleased with the frank and easy terms on which Don Juan appeared to live with his children. This I was inclined to think his favourite son, as I understood he was the only one that partook of the old gentleman's fondness for the chase, and that accompanied him in his hunting excursions.

"A dinner had been prepared for us at the hacienda, by the wife of the capitaz, or overseer, who, with her husband, seemed to be well pleased with this visit from Don Juan, and to be confident of receiving a pleasant answer from the good humoured old gentleman whenever they addressed him. The dinner was served up about two o'clock, and was a most agreeable meal. The fruits and wines were from the estate, and were excellent; the rest of the provisions were from Moguer, for the adjacent village of Palos is too poor to furnish any thing. A gentle breeze from the sea played through the hall, and tempered the summer heat. Indeed I do not know when I have seen a more enviable spot than this country retreat of the Pinzons. Its situation on a breezy hill, at no great distance from the sea, and in a southern climate, produces a happy temperature, neither hot in summer nor cold in winter. It commands a beautiful prospect, and is surrounded by natural luxuries. The country abounds with game, the adjacent river affords abundant sport in fishing, both by day and night, and delightful excursions for those fond of sailing. During the busy seasons of rural life, and especially at the joyous period of vintage, the family pass some time here, accompanied by numerous guests, at which times, Don Juan assured me, there was no lack of amusements, both by land and water.

"When we had dined, and taken the siesta, or afternoon nap, according to the Spanish custom in summer time, we set out on our return to Moguer, visiting the village of Palos in the way. Don Gabriel had been sent in advance to

procure the keys of the village church, and to apprise the curate of our wish to inspect the archives. The village consists principally of two streets of low white-washed houses. Many of the inhabitants have very dark complexions, betraying a mixture of African blood.

"On entering the village, we repaired to the lowly mansion of the curate. I had hoped to find him some such personage as the curate in Don Quixotte, possessed of shrewdness and information in his limited sphere, and that I might gain some anecdotes from him concerning his parish, its worthies, its antiquities, and its historical events. Perhaps I might have done so at any other time, but, unfortunately, the curate was something of a sportsman, and had heard of some game among the neighbouring hills. We met him just sallying forth from his house, and, I must confess, his appearance was picturesque. He was a short, broad, sturdy, little man, and had doffed his cassock and broad clerical beaver, for a short jacket and a little round Andalusian hat; he had his gun in hand, and was on the point of mounting a donkey which had been led forth by an ancient withered handmaid. Fearful of being detained from his foray, he accosted my companion the moment he came in sight. 'God preserve you, Señor Don Juan! I have received your message, and have but one anwer to make. The archives have all been destroyed. We have no trace of any thing you seek for—nothing—nothing. Don Rafael has the keys of the church. You can examine it at at your leisure—Adios, caballero!' With these words the galliard little curate mounted his donkey, thumped his ribs with the butt end of his gun, and trotted off to the hills.

"In our way to the church we passed by the ruins of what had once been a fair and spacious dwelling, greatly superior to the other houses of the village. This, Don Juan informed me, was an old family possession, but since they had removed from Palos it had fallen to decay for

want of a tenant. It was probably the family residence of Martin Alonzo or Vicente Yañez Pinzon, in the time of Columbus.

"We now arrived at the church of St. George, in the porch of which, Columbus first proclaimed to the inhabitants of Palos the order of the sovereigns, that they should furnish him with ships for his great voyage of discovery. This edifice has lately been thoroughly repaired, and, being of solid mason work, promises to stand for ages, a monument of the discoverers. It stands outside of the village, on the brow of a hill, looking along a little valley toward the river. The remains of a Moorish arch prove it to have been a mosque in former times; just above it, on the crest of the hill, is the ruin of a Moorish castle.

"I paused in the porch and endeavoured to recall the interesting scene that had taken place there, when Columbus, accompanied by the zealous friar, Juan Perez, caused the public notary to read the royal order in presence of the astonished alcaldes, regidors and alguazils; but it is difficult to conceive the consternation that must have been struck into so remote a little community, by this sudden apparition of an entire stranger among them, bearing a command that they should put their persons and ships at his disposal, and sail with him away into the unknown wilderness of the ocean.

"The interior of the church has nothing remarkable, excepting a wooden image of St. George vanquishing the Dragon, which is erected over the high altar, and is the admiration of the good people of Palos, who bear it about the streets in grand procession on the anniversary of the saint. This group existed in the time of Columbus, and now flourishes in renovated youth and splendour, having been newly painted and gilded, and the countenance of the saint rendered peculiarly blooming and lustrous.

"Having finished the examination of the church, we resumed our seats in the calesa and returned to Moguer. One thing only remained to fulfil the object of my pilgrimage. This was to visit the chapel of the convent of Santa Clara. When Columbus was in danger of being lost in a tempest on his way home from his great voyage of discovery, he made a vow, that should he be spared, he would watch and pray one whole night in this chapel; a vow which he doubtless fulfilled immediately after his arrival.

"My kind and attentive friend, Don Juan, conducted me to the convent. It is the wealthiest in Moguer, and belongs to a sisterhood of Franciscan nuns. The chapel is large, and ornamented with some degree of richness, particularly the part about the high altar, which is embellished by magnificent monuments of the brave family of the Puerto Carreros, the ancient lords of Moguer, and renowned in Moorish warfare. The alabaster effigies of distinguished warriors of that house, and of their wives and sisters, lie side by side, with folded hands, on tombs immediately before the altar, while others recline in deep niches on either side. The night had closed in by the time I entered the church, which made the scene more impressive. A few votive lamps shed a dim light about the interior; their beams were feebly reflected by the gilded work of the high altar, and the frames of the surrounding paintings, and rested upon the marble figures of the warriors and dames lying in the monumental repose of ages. The solemn pile must have presented much the same appearance when the pious discoverer performed his vigil, kneeling before this very altar, and praying and watching throughout the night, and pouring forth heartfelt praises for having been spared to accomplish his sublime discovery.

"I had now completed the main purpose of my journey, having visited the various places connected with the story of Columbus. It was highly gratifying to find some of

them so little changed though so great a space of time had intervened; but in this quiet nook of Spain, so far removed from the main thoroughfares, the lapse of time produces but few violent revolutions. Nothing, however, had surprised and gratified me more than the continued stability of the Pinzon family. On the morning after my excursion to Palos, chance gave me an opportunity of seeing something of the interior of most of their households. Having a curiosity to visit the remains of a Moorish castle, once the citadel of Moguer, Don Fernandez undertook to show me a tower which served as a magazine of wine to one of the Pinzon family. In seeking for the key we were sent from house to house of nearly the whole connexion. All appeared to be living in that golden mean equally removed from the wants and superfluities of life, and all to be happily interwoven by kind and cordial habits of intimacy. We found the females of the family generally seated in the patios, or central courts of their dwellings, beneath the shade of awnings and among shrubs and flowers. Here the Andalusian ladies are accustomed to pass their mornings at work, surrounded by their handmaids, in the primitive, or rather, oriental style. In the porches of some of the houses I observed the coat of arms, granted to the family by Charles V. hung up like a picture in a frame. Over the door of Don Luis, the naval officer, it was carved on an escutcheon of stone, and coloured. I had gathered many particulars of the family also from conversation with Don Juan, and from the family legend lent me by Don Luis. From all that I could learn, it would appear that the lapse of nearly three centuries and a half has made but little change in the condition of the Pinzons. From generation to generation they have retained the same fair standing and reputable name throughout the neighbourhood, filling offices of public trust and dignity, and possessing great influence over their fellow citizens by their good sense and

good conduct. How rare is it to see such an instance of stability of fortune in this fluctuating world, and how truly honourable is this hereditary respectability, which has been secured by no titles or entails, but perpetuated merely by the innate worth of the race! I declare to you that the most illustrious descents of mere titled rank could never command the sincere respect and cordial regard with which I contemplated this staunch and enduring family, which for three centuries and a half has stood merely upon its virtues.

"As I was to set off on my return to Seville before two o'clock, I partook of a farewell repast at the house of Don Juan, between twelve and one, and then took leave of his household with sincere regret. The good old gentleman, with the courtesy, or rather the cordiality of a true Spaniard, accompanied me to the posada to see me off. I had dispensed but little money in the posada—thanks to the hospitality of the Pinzons—yet the Spanish pride of my host and hostess seemed pleased that I had preferred their humble chamber, and the scanty bed they had provided me, to the spacious mansion of Don Juan; and when I expressed my thanks for their kindness and attention, and regaled mine host with a few choice cigars, the heart of the poor man was overcome. He seized me by both hands and gave me a parting benediction, and then ran after the calasero to enjoin him to take particular care of me during my journey.

"Taking a hearty leave of my excellent friend Don Juan, who had been unremitting in his attentions to me to the last moment, I now set off in my wayfaring, gratified to the utmost with my visit, and full of kind and grateful feelings towards Moguer and its hospitable inhabitants."*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 325 to 346.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Americus Vespucius from 1505 to 1508; his appointment then as chief pilot of Spain; and the expeditions of Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis in 1506 and 1508.

On the 11th of April 1505, Ferdinand made Vespucius a grant of twelve thousand maravedis; and on the 24th of the same month, letters of naturalization were issued in his behalf, in consideration, as they recite, of his fidelity and many valuable services to the crown. Shortly afterwards, he and Vicente Yañez Pinzon were named captains of an armada then contemplated from Spain. For this voyage vessels were procured and fitted out, and other preparations made, but it was eventually abandoned. There are memoranda existing concerning it dated in 1505, 1507 and 1508, from which it appears that Vespucius remained at Seville attending to the fluctuating concerns of this squadron, until the change of its destination, the sale of the equipments, and settlement of the accounts. During this time he had a salary of thirty thousand maravedis. On the 22d of March 1508, he received the appointment of chief pilot, with a salary of seventy-five thousand maravedis. Seville was now the place of his residence. His chief duties were to prepare charts, examine pilots, superintend the fitting out of expeditions, and pre-

scribe the route that vessels were to pursue in their voyages to the new world.*

Mr. Irving states that in 1506, Vicente Yañez Pinzon undertook an expedition in company with Juan Diaz de Solis, a native of Lebrija, the object of which was to find the strait or passage supposed by Columbus to lead from the Atlantic to a southern ocèan; but that no such passage existing, this voyage was necessarily without success, as was also another made by them for the same purpose in 1508.† In the preface of the French editor to the History of the Province of Sancta Cruz, mentioned on page 108, after referring to the visits of the Portuguese navigators to this province, amongst others to one by Alfonso d'Albuquesque in 1503, and to another three years later, by Tustan d'Acunha, he says, "In 1508, the King of Spain, jealous of preserving the exclusive possession of America, dispatched to this country Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis." It may be that the object of the expedition of 1508 was two fold, to find a passage by a strait from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and also to take possession of Brazil, as far as practicable, so as to check the Portuguese in their endeavours to enlarge their possessions in that country.

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 252. Appendix No. 10. Life of Vespucius, p. 256 to 264, also p. 395, 396.

† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 40, 41.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the subjugation of Hispaniola, and its government under Diego Columbus; also of the subjugation of Porto Rico in 1509, while Juan Ponce de Leon was commander in that island.

After four other Indian sovereignties of Hispaniola had been subjugated, the downfall of Higuey, the last of those independent districts, was accomplished under the administration of Ovando. Juan Ponce, a native of Leon, generally called Juan Ponce de Leon, was commander of part of the troops. He had served against the Moors of Granada, had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage in 1493, and had distinguished himself in various battles with the Indians. In the campaign against Higuey, he seconded his chief, Juan de Esquibel, so valiantly, that after the subjugation of the province, he was appointed to the command of it as lieutenant of the governor of Hispaniola.*

The province of Higuey lay at the eastern end of Hayti. The isle of Boriquen was directly opposite, and but twelve or fourteen leagues distant. The Indians of the two islands frequently visited each other; and in the transparent atmosphere of the tropics Juan Ponce could see Boriquen from his province. He obtained permission from governor Ovando to visit it,

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 292, 3.

and brought back such specimens of gold that the governor determined on the subjugation of the island: it was proposed to confide the enterprise to Juan Ponce. He made another, and as it were a preparatory visit, to make himself acquainted with the country, and with the nature and resources of the inhabitants. After remaining some time on the island, he returned to San Domingo, but found the whole face of affairs had changed in his absence. His patron, the governor Ovando, had been recalled to Spain.*

This was after the law suit of Diego Columbus, son of the renowned discoverer, was determined in his favour. According to the capitulations between the sovereign and his father, Diego was to be viceroy and governor of the new world. Ferdinand withheld the title of viceroy, but ceded to Diego the dignities and powers that had been enjoyed by Ovando. Even this cession was not made until the power of Diego was increased by his connexion in marriage. He married Donna Maria de Toledo, daughter of Fernando de Toledo, grand commander of Leon, and niece of the celebrated duke of Alva, chief favourite of the king.†

"The new admiral embarked at St. Lucar, June 9, 1509, with his wife, his brother Don Fernando, who was now grown to man's estate, and had been well educated, and his two uncles Don Bartholomew and Don Diego. They were accompanied by a numerous retinue of cavaliers, with their wives, and of young ladies of rank and family, more distinguished, it is hinted, for high blood than large for-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 296.

† Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 213 to 218. Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 296.

tune, and who were sent out to find wealthy husbands in the new world.*

"Though the king had not granted Don Diego the dignity of viceroy, the title was generally given to him by courtesy, and his wife was universally addressed by that of vice-queen.

"Don Diego commenced his rule with a degree of splendour hitherto unknown in the colony. The vice-queen, who was a lady of great desert, surrounded by the noble cavaliers and the young ladies of family who had come in her retinue, established a sort of court, which threw a degree of lustre over the half savage island. The young ladies were soon married to the wealthiest colonists, and contributed greatly to soften those rude manners which had grown up in a state of society hitherto destitute of the salutary restraint and pleasing decorum produced by female influence.

"Don Diego had considered his appointment in the light of a vice-royalty, but the king soon took measures which showed that he admitted of no such pretension."†

A cavalier arrived from Spain, empowered by the king to form a settlement and build a fortress on the island of Porto Rico. His name was Christoval de Sotomayor; he was brother to the Count of Camina, and had been secretary to Philip the First, King of Castile, and father of Charles the Fifth. Diego Columbus considered this in disregard of his prerogative as viceroy, and refused to put Sotomayor in possession. He paid as little respect to the claims of Juan Ponce. Choosing officers to suit himself, he appointed one Juan Ceron to the government of Porto Rico, and Miguel Diaz as his lieutenant. Juan

* Las Casas, L. 2, cap. 49, MS. † Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 216, Appendix No. 2.

Ponce and Sotomayor bore their disappointment with a good grace: they joined the crowd of adventurers that accompanied the newly appointed governor.*

Afterwards the king appointed Juan Ponce governor of the island, and signified that Diego Columbus was not to presume to displace him. The first step of Juan Ponce was to quarrel with Juan Ceron and Miguel Diaz, the ex-governor and his lieutenant, and send them prisoners to Spain. To Sotomayor he was more favourable; making him lieutenant and alcalde mayor. But the cavalier was so ridiculed for accepting this subaltern situation, that he had to resign; he remained in the island as a private individual until upon an insurrection by the natives he was massacred.†

Juan Ponce fixed his seat of government in a town called Caparra, which he founded on the northern side of the island about a league from the sea; it was in front of the port called Rico, which subsequently gave its name to the island. After the insurrection, he might almost be considered a governor without territories and a general without soldiers. His villages were in ruins, and his whole force did not amount to a hundred men, several of whom were disabled by their wounds. One of his most efficient warriors was a dog named Berezillo, for whom his master received the pay, allowance and share of booty assigned to a cross-bow man; and perhaps the pay should have been higher, for it is said he did more than could have been done by several soldiers. Juan Ponce occasionally made assaults upon the Indians

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 296 to 298. † Id. p. 298 to 306.

with small bodies of his men, but he would not venture much until he had reinforcements from Hispaniola. While fighting hard to maintain his sway, his dignity was terminated. King Ferdinand became convinced that in superseding the governor and lieutenant governor appointed by Diego Columbus, he had infringed the rights of the admiral. When therefore Juan Ceron and Miguel Diaz came prisoners to Spain, the king sent them back empowered to resume command. By the time they reached the island, Juan Ponce had completed its subjugation. The fate of the natives of Boriquen was like that of their neighbours of Hayti.*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 300 to 312.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the subjugation of Jamaica in 1509, and the armaments in the same year to found colonies along the isthmus of Darien; the attempts of Alonzo de Ojeda to plant his colony; his conflicts with the Indians; and the formula read to them as an excuse for killing them.

King Ferdinand, having resolved to found regular colonies along the isthmus of Darien, had, without any reference to Diego Columbus, divided this part of the continent into two provinces, separated by an imaginary line running through the gulf of Uraba. The eastern part, extending to Cape de la Vela, was called New Andalusia, and the government of it given to Alonzo de Ojeda. The other to the west, including Veragua, and reaching to Cape Gracios á Dios, was assigned to Diego de Nicuesa.*

"Had the monarch been swayed by principles of justice and gratitude, the settlement of this coast would have been given to the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, who had assisted in the discovery of the country, and, together with his brother the admiral, had suffered so greatly in the enterprise. Even his superior abilities for the task should have pointed him out to the policy of the monarch; but the cautious and calculating Ferdinand knew the lofty spirit of the Adelantado, and that he would be disposed to demand high and dignified terms. He passed him by, there-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 54 to 58. Irving's Columbus, p. 216.

fore, and preferred more eager and accommodating adventurers."*

Each of the governors was to erect two fortresses, and to enjoy for ten years the profits of the mines he should discover; paying to the crown one tenth part the first year, one ninth the second, one eighth the third, one seventh the fourth, and one fifth part in each of the remaining years. Diego Columbus considered the measures thus taken for founding these colonies, without his participation or knowledge, an infringement of what had been granted and confirmed to his father and his heirs.†

Ojeda's lieutenant, Juan de la Cosa, embarked with about two hundred men in a ship and two brigantines; Nicuesa went with a greater force in four large vessels and two brigantines. He met Ojeda at Saint Domingo. Each claimed the province of Darien to be within his jurisdiction; the dispute as to this ended in an agreement that the river Darien should be the boundary line between them. Another ground of contention arose, from the island of Jamaica being given to the two governors in common, as a place from which to draw supplies of provisions. Diego Columbus settled the dispute as to this. Under his orders a brave officer, Juan de Esquibel, who had before subjugated the province of Higuey, took possession of Jamaica, and held it subject to his command.‡

It was on the 10th of November 1509, that Alonzo de Ojeda sailed from San Domingo. His force was

* Irving's Columbus, p. 216, 17.

† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 54 to 58. Irving's Columbus, p. 217.

‡ Id. p. 54 to 64. Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 213 to 218.

now increased. Among the remarkable adventurers who embarked with him, was Francisco Pizarro, afterwards renowned as the conqueror of Peru. Hernando Cortez intended also to sail in the expedition, but was prevented by an inflammation in one of his knees. The voyagers arrived late in the autumn in the harbour of Carthagena. By way of prelude to an attack on the natives, Alonzo de Ojeda advancing towards them, caused the following curious formula, composed by learned divines in Spain, to be read aloud by the friars in his train; it was subsequently adopted by the Spanish discoverers in general, in their invasions of the Indian countries:*

"I, Alonzo de Ojeda, servant of the high and mighty kings of Castile and Leon, civilizers of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify and make known to you, in the best way I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heavens and the earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you, and we, and all the people of the earth were and are descendants, procreated, and all those who shall come after us; but the vast number of generations which have proceeded from them, in the course of more than five thousand years that have elapsed since the creation of the world, made it necessary that some of the human race should disperse in one direction, and some in another, and that they should divide themselves into many kingdoms and provinces, as they could not sustain and preserve themselves in one alone. All these people were given in charge, by God our Lord, to one person, named Saint Peter, who was thus made lord and superior of all the people of the earth, and head of the whole human lineage, whom all should obey, wherever they might

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 65 to 67.

live, and whatever might be their law, sect or belief; he gave him also the whole world for his service and jurisdiction, and though he desired that he should establish his chair in Rome, as a place most convenient for governing the world, yet he permitted that he might establish his chair in any other part of the world, and judge and govern all the Nations, Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and whatever other sect or belief might be. This person was denominated Pope, that is to say, admirable, supreme, father and guardian, because he is father and governor of all mankind. This holy father was obeyed and honoured as lord, king, and superior of the Universe, by those who lived in his time, and, in like manner, have been obeyed and honoured all those who have been elected to the Pontificate; and thus it has continued unto the present day, and will continue until the end of the world.

"One of these pontiffs, of whom I have spoken as lord of the world, made a donation of these islands and continents, of the ocean, sea, and all that they contain, to the Catholic kings of Castile, who at that time were Ferdinand and Isabella, of glorious memory, and to their successors, our sovereigns, according to the tenor of certain papers drawn up for the purpose, (which you may see if you desire.) Thus his majesty is king and sovereign of these islands and continents, by virtue of the said donation; and as king and sovereign, certain islands, and almost all to whom this has been notified, have received his majesty, and have obeyed and served, and do actually serve him. And, moreover, like good subjects, and with good will and without any resistance or delay, the moment they were informed of the foregoing, they obeyed all the religious men sent among them to preach and teach our Holy Faith; and these of their free and cheerful will, without any condition or reward, became Christians, and continue so to be. And his majesty received them kindly and benignantly, and ordered

that they should be treated like his other subjects and vassals: you also, are required and obliged to do the same. Therefore, in the best manner I can, I pray and entreat you, that you consider well what I have said, and that you take whatever time is reasonable to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you recognise the church for sovereign and superior of the universal world, and the supreme pontiff, called Pope, in her name, and his majesty in his place, as superior and sovereign king of the islands and Terra Firma, by virtue of the said donation; and that you consent that these religious fathers declare and preach to you the foregoing; and if you shall so do, you will do well, and will do that to which you are bounden and obliged; and his majesty, and I in his name, will receive you with all due love and charity, and will leave you, your wives and children, free from servitude, that you may freely do with these and with yourselves whatever you please and think proper, as have done the inhabitants of the other islands. And besides this, his majesty will give you many privileges and exemptions, and grant you many favours. If you do not do this, or wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you, that, by the aid of God, I will powerfully invade and make war upon you in all parts and modes that I can, and will subdue you to the yoke and obedience of the church and of his majesty: and I will take your wives and children and make slaves of them, and sell them as such, and dispose of them as his majesty may command; and I will take your effects and will do you all the harm and injury in my power, as vassals who will not obey or receive their sovereign, and who resist and oppose him. And I protest that the deaths and disasters which may in this manner be occasioned, will be the fault of yourselves and not of his majesty, nor of me, nor of these cavaliers who accompany me. And of what I here tell you

and require of you, I call upon the notary here present to give me his signed testimonial."*

Thus, with the aid of the priesthood, was a broad foundation laid, on which to perpetrate cruelty and oppression in the name of that religion whose proper attributes are benevolence and mercy. Violence was soon commenced after this wicked attempt to sanctify it. Some of the natives were killed in the field; some in a cabin (which Ojeda had set fire to,) perished in the flames; and others were made captive and sent to the ships. The Spaniards now having no fear of an attack, roved in quest of booty. While thus scattered, other Indians rushed upon them.†

"Ojeda on the first alarm collected a few soldiers and ensconced himself within a small enclosure, surrounded by palisades. Here he was closely besieged and galled by flights of arrows. He threw himself on his knees, covered himself with his buckler, and, being small and active, managed to protect himself from the deadly shower, but all his companions were slain by his side, some of them perishing in frightful agonies. At this fearful moment the veteran La Cosa, having heard of the peril of his commander, arrived, with a few followers, to his assistance. Stationing himself at the gate of the palisades, the brave Biscayan kept the savages at bay until most of his men were slain and he himself was severely wounded. Just then Ojeda sprang forth like a tiger into the midst of the enemy, dealing his blows on every side. La Cosa would have seconded him, but was crippled by his wounds. He took refuge with the remnant of his men in an Indian cabin; the straw roof of which he aided them to throw off, lest the enemy should

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 347. † Id. p. 68, 9.

set it on fire. Here he defended himself until all his comrades but one were destroyed. The subtle poison of his wounds at length overpowered him, and he sank to the ground. Feeling death at hand, he called to his only surviving companion. 'Brother,' said he, 'since God hath protected thee from harm, sally forth and fly, and if ever thou shouldst see Alonzo de Ojeda, tell him of my fate!' "*

Thus fell the hardy Juan de la Cosa, faithful and devoted to the last. He was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be one of the ablest of those gallant Spanish navigators who first explored the way to the new world. Days elapsed without those on board hearing any thing from the party who had gone with Ojeda. At length, some of the Spaniards, in an entangled and almost impervious grove caught a glimpse of a man in Spanish attire. They entered, and to their astonishment found it to be Ojeda. He was lying on the matted roots of the mangrove trees, his buckler on his shoulder and his sword in his hand, but so wasted with hunger and fatigue that he could not speak. They bore him to the firm land; made a fire on the shore to warm him, for he was chilled with the damp and cold of his hiding place; and when he was a little revived they gave him food and wine. In this way, he gradually recovered strength to tell his doleful story. He had succeeded in cutting his way through the host of savages and attaining the woody skirts of the mountains, but when he found himself alone, and that the seventy brave men who had gone with him were all cut off, he was almost in

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 69, 70.

despair. He scarce knew which way to bend his course, but continued on in the darkness of the night and of the forest. When the day broke, he sought the rudest parts of the mountains and hid himself until night; then struggling forward among rocks and precipices and matted forests, he made his way to the sea side but was too much exhausted to reach the ships. It seemed wonderful that one, so small of frame, should have been able to endure such great hardships; but he was of admirable strength and hardihood. His buckler, it is said, bore the dints of upwards of three hundred arrows; yet he had received no wound.*

While the Spaniards were yet on shore, administering to the recovery of their commander, they saw a squadron approaching; it was Nicuesa's. The two governors soon met; four hundred of their men and several horses were quickly landed; and they set off for the village of the Indians. Great was the carnage, for no quarter was shewn to age or sex. Many Indians perished from the flames in their burning habitations, and many by the sword. Having sacked the village and collected great spoil, the two governors parted with many expressions of friendship. Nicuesa continued his voyage for the coast of Veragua, and Ojeda, giving up all thoughts of colonizing this disastrous part of the coast, steered for the gulf of Uraba. He fixed his capital on a height at the east side of the gulf and gave to it the name of San Sebastian. Conflicts soon took place with the natives.

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 70 to 74.

In one of them Ojeda lost blood in battle, for the first time in his life; an arrow, supposed to be poisoned, having pierced his thigh. A remedy suggested itself which few but him could have had the courage to try. He caused two plates of iron to be made red hot and ordered a surgeon to apply them to each orifice of the wound. The surgeon shuddered and refused, saying he would not be the murderer of his general. Upon this, Ojeda vowed he would hang him unless he obeyed. To avoid the gallows, the surgeon applied the glowing plates. It is said that Ojeda refused to be tied down or let any one hold him during the operation, yet endured it without shrinking or uttering a murmur, though his whole system was so inflamed that a barrel of vinegar was exhausted, steeping sheets in which to wrap him to allay the burning heat. He recovered; whether owing to his desperate remedy, or whether because the arrow was not poisoned, must remain uncertain.*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 74 to 82.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda in 1509 from the isthmus of Darien for Hispaniola; his landing on Cuba, and his hardships then on his journey by land; the little oratory which he built; his course then by Jamaica to San Domingo, and his death there.

The pressing wants of the colony caused Ojeda to start himself for San Domingo in quest of reinforcements and supplies. It was agreed that his men should remain quietly at St. Sebastian for fifty days. If in that time, no tidings were received of him, they were to be at liberty to abandon the settlement and return in the brigantines to Hispaniola. Francisco Pizarro was left in command as lieutenant. The governor embarked in a pirate vessel wherein Bernardino de Talavera had come from and was going to return to Hispaniola. Ojeda had scarce put to sea when a quarrel arose between him and Talavera. The former assumed command and the latter resisted it as usurpation. Ojeda, as usual, would have settled the question by the sword, but he had the whole vagabond crew against him who overpowered him and threw him in irons. He offered to fight the whole of them successively provided they would give him a clear deck and come on two at a time, but they had heard too much of his exploits to accept this challenge; so they kept him raging in his chains while they pursued their voyage. On the way, however, a

violent storm arose; in the hour of peril, a truce was made with Ojeda for the common safety. His irons were taken off on condition that he would act as pilot during the remainder of the voyage. But the vessel had been already swept so far to the westward that his skill was ineffectual in endeavouring to work up to Hispaniola against storms and adverse currents. The shattered bark was almost in a foundering condition when it was run ashore on the southern coast of Cuba.*

This was before the subjugation and settlement of Cuba in 1510. Then Diego Columbus congratulated King Ferdinand on having acquired this large and beautiful island without losing a single man.† Now it was a place of refuge to the unhappy natives of Hayti. Ojeda to avoid being attacked took a route away from the populous parts of the island. The sufferings of him and his companions were so great that after some time, out of seventy men who set out from the ship but thirty-five remained. This number was still further reduced. Ojeda with a few of the lightest and most vigorous, struggled forward through the morasses and at length arrived to where the land was firm and dry. They soon descried a foot path, and following it arrived at an Indian village.‡

"The Indians gathered round and gazed at them with wonder; but when they learnt their story, they exhibited a humanity that would have done honour to the most professing Christians. They bore them to their dwellings, set

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 82 to 89.
† Irving's Columbus, vol. 2. p. 218, Appendix No. 2.
‡ Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 89 to 93.

meat and drink before them, and vied with each other in discharging the offices of the kindest humanity. Finding that a number of their companions were still in the morass, the cacique sent a large party of Indians with provisions for their relief, with orders to bring on their shoulders such as were too feeble to walk."*

Ojeda had with him a little Flemish painting of the Madona, which had been given him by Bishop Fonseca. At a moment of great despondency, when he was in a morass that seemed interminable, he made a solemn vow to his patroness that if she conducted him alive through this peril, he would erect a chapel in the first Indian village he should arrive at, and leave her picture there, to remain an object of adoration to the Gentiles.†

"Being recovered from his sufferings, Alonzo de Ojeda prepared to perform his vow concerning the picture of the Virgin, though sorely must it have grieved him to part with a relique to which he attributed his deliverance from so many perils. He built a little hermitage or oratory in the village, and furnished it with an altar, above which he placed the picture. He then summoned the benevolent cacique, and explained to him, as well as his limited knowledge of the language, or the aid of interpreters would permit, the main points of the Catholic faith, and especially the history of the Virgin, whom he represented as the mother of the Deity that reigned in the skies, and the great advocate for mortal man.

"The worthy cacique listened to him with mute attention, and though he might not clearly comprehend the doctrine, yet he conceived a profound veneration for the pic-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 93. † Id. p. 91, 2.

ture. The sentiment was shared by his subjects. They kept the little oratory always swept clean, and decorated it with cotton hangings, laboured by their own hands, and with various votive offerings. They composed couplets or areytos in honour of the Virgin, which they sang to the accompaniment of rude musical instruments, dancing to the sound under the groves which surrounded the hermitage.

"A further anecdote concerning this relique may not be unacceptable. The venerable Las Casas, who records these facts, informs us that he arrived at the village of Cuebàs sometime after the departure of Ojeda. He found the oratory preserved with the most religious care, as a sacred place, and the picture of the Virgin regarded with fond adoration. The poor Indians crowded to attend mass, which he performed at the altar; they listened attentively to his paternal instructions, and at his request brought their children to be baptized. The good Las Casas having heard much of this famous relique of Ojeda, was desirous of obtaining possession of it, and offered to give the cacique in exchange, an image of the Virgin which he had brought with him. The chieftain made an evasive answer, and seemed much troubled in mind. The next morning he did not make his appearance.

"Las Casas went to the oratory to perform mass, but found the altar stripped of its precious relique. On inquiring, he learnt that in the night the cacique had fled to the woods, bearing off with him his beloved picture of the Virgin. It was in vain that Las Casas sent messengers after him, assuring him that he should not be deprived of the relique, but, on the contrary, that the image should likewise be presented to him. The cacique refused to venture from the fastnesses of the forest, nor did he return to his village and replace the picture in the oratory until after the departure of the Spaniards."*†

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind. c. 61, MS.—Herrera, Hist. Ind. d. i. l. ix., c. xv.

† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 94, 5.

When the Spaniards were restored to health and strength, they resumed their journey: the cacique sent a large body of his subjects to carry their provisions and knapsacks, and to guide them across a desert tract of country to the province of Macaca, situated at Cape de la Cruz, the nearest point to Jamaica. Here Ojeda learnt that there were Spaniards settled on that island, being in fact the party commanded by Juan de Esquibel already mentioned. A message being conveyed to Esquibel, he quickly dispatched a vessel to bring to him Ojeda and his companions. Ojeda remained several days in Esquibel's house, and then sailed for San Domingo; Talavera and his rabble adherents remaining behind. They were arrested by orders of Diego Columbus; and Talavera and several of his accomplices were hanged for their piracy. Ojeda lingered some time at San Domingo and died poor. He entreated that his body might be buried in the monastery of San Francisco, just at the portal, in expiation of his pride, "that every one who entered might tread upon his grave."*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 96 to 102.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the proceedings of Diego de Nicuesa, the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and Francisco Pizarro in 1509, 1510 and 1511; the settlement of the three last at Darien; the conduct of the people of Darien to Nicuesa; his hardships and death.

Diego de Nicuesa was not without his misfortunes. Having parted from Ojeda at Carthagena, he embarked in a caravel that he might reconnoitre the coast, and after a boisterous night, could not see the rest of the squadron. The caravel went to pieces on an island. He still had a boat; but one night four mariners and the boat disappeared. The sufferings of Nicuesa and his men were extreme. Day after day, and week after week elapsed without any mitigation of suffering or any prospect of relief. At length a sail gleamed on the horizon. It was one of two brigantines that had belonged to his squadron, and among the crew were the four sailors who had so mysteriously disappeared; they had left Nicuesa in the night to go in quest of the vessel: the other three ships had been broken to pieces at the river Belen, and a caravel built out of the fragments. Thither Nicuesa now went in the brigantine to join the rest of the men. Of seven hundred who had sailed with him from San Domingo, four hundred had already perished; and others were dying of famine. Nicuesa determined to abandon this place. Leaving behind,

under the command of Alonzo Nuñez, some of the men to await the ripening of maize and vegetables which they had sown, he embarked the rest in the two brigantines and the caravel and sailed eastward. He anchored at Porto Bello, but being assailed by the Indians, continued seven leagues further to the harbour to which Columbus had given the name of Puerto de Bastimientos or Port of Provisions; Nicuesa's followers called it Nombre de Dios. Nicuesa began immediately to erect a fortress, and when he could spare men for the purpose, dispatched the caravel for those left at the river Belen. Many of them had perished. On mustering all his forces, when thus united, Nicuesa found that but one hundred remained; and they were emaciated and dejected.*

At the time that Alonzo de Ojeda departed with his armament from Hispaniola, it was agreed by him with the bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, a lawyer of some ability, that the bachelor should follow him with reinforcements and supplies, and become alcalde mayor or chief judge. A man contrived to get in Enciso's vessel in a peculiar way.†

"His name was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. He was a native of Xeres de los Caballeros, and of a noble though impoverished family. He had been brought up in the service of Don Pedro Puerto Carrero, Lord of Moguer, and he afterwards enlisted among the adventurers who accompanied Rodrigo de Bastides in his voyage of discovery. Peter Martyr, in his Latin decades, speaks of him by the appellation of 'egregius digladiator,' which has been interpreted by some as a skilful swordsman, by others as an adroit fen-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 103 to 117. † Id. p. 118.

cing master. He intimates, also, that he was a mere soldier of fortune, of loose, prodigal habits, and the circumstances under which he is first introduced to us, justify this character. He had fixed himself for a time in Hispaniola, and undertaken to cultivate a farm at the town of Salvatierra, on the sea coast, but in a little time had completely involved himself in debt. The expedition of Enciso presented him with an opportunity of escaping from his embarrassments, and of indulging his adventurous habits. To elude the vigilance of his creditors and of the armed escort, he concealed himself in a cask, which was conveyed from his farm on the sea coast, on board of the vessel, as if containing provisions for the voyage. When the vessel was fairly out at sea, and abandoned by the escort, Vasco Nuñez emerged, like an apparition, from his cask, to the great surprise of Enciso, who had been totally ignorant of the stratagem. The bachelor was indignant at being thus outwitted, even though he gained a recruit by the deception; and, in the first ebullition of his wrath, gave the fugitive debtor a very rough reception, threatening to put him on shore on the first uninhabited island they should encounter. Vasco Nuñez, however, succeeded in pacifying him, 'for God,' says the venerable Las Casas, 'reserved him for greater things.' It is probable the bachelor beheld in him a man well fitted for his expedition, for Vasco Nuñez was in the prime and vigour of his days, tall and muscular, seasoned to hardships, and of intrepid spirit.

"Arriving at the main land, they touched at the fatal harbour of Carthagena, the scene of the sanguinary conflicts of Ojeda and Nicuesa, with the natives, and of the death of the brave Juan de la Cosa. Enciso was ignorant of those events, having had no tidings from those adventurers since their departure from San Domingo; without any hesitation, therefore, he landed a number of his men to repair his boat, which was damaged, and to procure water.

While the men were working upon the boat, a multitude of Indians gathered at a distance, well armed, and with menacing aspect, sounding their shells and brandishing their weapons. The experience they had had of the tremendous powers of the strangers, however, rendered them cautious of attacking, and for three days they hovered in this manner about the Spaniards, the latter being obliged to keep continually on the alert. At length two of the Spaniards ventured one day from the main body to fill a water cask from the adjacent river. Scarcely had they reached the margin of the stream, when eleven savages sprang from the thickets and surrounded them, bending their bows and pointing their arrows. In this way they stood for a moment or two in fearful suspense, the Indians refraining from discharging their shafts, but keeping them constantly pointed at their breasts. One of the Spaniards attempted to escape to his comrades, who were repairing the boat, but the other called him back, and, understanding something of the Indian tongue, addressed a few amicable words to the savages. The latter, astonished at being spoken to in their own language, now relaxed a little from their fierceness, and demanded of the strangers who they were, who were their leaders, and what they sought upon their shores. The Spaniard replied that they were harmless people, who came from other lands, and merely touched there through necessity, and he wondered that they should meet them with such hostility; he at the same time warned them to beware, as there would come many of his countrymen well armed, and would wreak terrible vengeance upon them for any mischief they might do. While they were thus parleying, the Bachelor Enciso, hearing that two of his men were surrounded by the savages, sallied instantly from his ship, and hastened with an armed force to their rescue. As he approached, however, the Spaniard who had held the parley, made him a signal that the natives were pacific. In

fact, the latter had supposed that this was a new invasion of Ojeda and Nicuesa, and had thus arrayed themselves, if not to take vengeance for past outrages, at least to defend their houses from a second desolation. When they were convinced, however, that these were a totally different band of strangers and without hostile intentions, their animosity was at an end; they threw by their weapons, and came forward with the most confiding frankness. During the whole time that the Spaniards remained there, they treated them with the greatest friendship, supplying them with bread made from maize, with salted fish, and with the fermented and spirituous beverages, common along that coast. Such was the magnanimous conduct of men who were considered among the most ferocious and warlike of these savage nations; and who, but recently, had beheld their shores invaded, their villages ravaged and burnt, and their friends and relations butchered, without regard to age or sex, by the countrymen of these very strangers. When we recall the bloody and indiscriminate vengeance wreaked upon this people by Ojeda and his followers, for their justifiable resistance of invasion, and compare it with their placable and considerate spirit when an opportunity for revenge presented itself, we confess we feel a momentary doubt whether the arbitrary appellation of savage is always applied to the right party.

"Not long after the arrival of Enciso at this eventful harbour, he was surprised by the circumstance of a brigantine entering and coming to anchor. To encounter an European sail in these almost unknown seas, was always a singular and striking occurrence, but the astonishment of the bachelor was mingled with alarm when, on boarding the brigantine, he found that it was manned by a number of the men who had embarked with Ojeda. His first idea was, that they had mutinied against their commander, and deserted with the vessel. The feelings of the magistrate

were aroused within him by the suspicion, and he determined to take his first step as Alcalde Mayor, by seizing them and inflicting on them the severity of the law. He altered his tone, however, on conversing with their resolute commander. This was no other than Francisco Pizarro, whom Ojeda had left as his *locum tenens* at San Sebastian, and who shewed the bachelor his letter patent, signed by that unfortunate governor. In fact, the little brigantine contained the sad remnant of the once vaunted colony. After the departure of Ojeda in the pirate ship, his followers, whom he had left behind under the command of Pizarro, continued in the fortress until the stipulated term of fifty days had expired. Receiving no succour, and hearing no tidings of Ojeda, they then determined to embark and sail for Hispaniola; but here an unthought-of difficulty presented itself, they were seventy in number, and the two brigantines which had been left with them were incapable of taking so many. They came to the forlorn agreement, therefore, to remain until famine, sickness, and the poisoned arrows of the Indians should reduce their number to the capacity of the brigantines. A brief space of time was sufficient for the purpose. They then prepared for the voyage. Four mares, which had been kept alive as terrors to the Indians, were killed and salted for sea-stores. Then taking whatever other articles of provision remained, they embarked and made sail. One brigantine was commanded by Pizarro, the other by one Valenzuela."*

They had not proceeded far, when, in a storm, a sea struck the crazy vessel of Valenzuela with such violence as to cause it to founder with all its crew. The brigantine which remained, then made the best of its way to the harbour of Carthagena, to seek provisions.†

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 118 to 124. † Id. 124, 5.

The Bachelor Enciso was told that about twenty-five leagues to the west lay a province called Zenu, the mountains of which abounded with gold, and in this province was a place of sepulture where the Indians were buried with their most precious ornaments.

"It appeared to him a matter of course, therefore, that there must be an immense accumulation of riches in the Indian tombs, from the golden ornaments that had been buried with the dead through a long series of generations. Fired with the thought, he determined to make a foray into this province, and to sack the sepulchres! Neither did he feel any compunction at the idea of plundering the dead, considering the deceased as pagans and infidels, who had forfeited even the sanctuary of the grave, by having been buried according to the rites and ceremonies of their idolatrous religion.

"Enciso, accordingly, made sale from Carthagena, and landed with his forces on the coast of Zenu. Here he was promptly opposed by two caciques, at the head of a large band of warriors. The bachelor, though he had thus put on the soldier, retained sufficient of the spirit of his former calling not to enter into a quarrel without taking care to have the law on his side; he proceeded regularly, therefore, according to the legal form recently enjoined by the crown. He caused to be read and interpreted to the caciques, the same formula used by Ojeda, expounding the nature of the Deity, the supremacy of the Pope, and the right of the Catholic sovereigns to all these lands, by virtue of a grant from his Holiness. The caciques listened to the whole very attentively and without interruption, according to the laws of Indian courtesy. They then replied that, as to the assertion that there was but one God, the sovereign of heaven and earth, it seemed to them good, and

that such must be the case; but as to the doctrine that the Pope was regent of the world in place of God, and that he had made a grant of their country to the Spanish king, they observed that the Pope must have been drunk to give away what was not his, and the king must have been somewhat mad to ask at his hands what belonged to others. They added, that they were lords of those lands, and needed no other sovereign, and if this king should come to take possession, they would cut off his head and put it on a pole; that being their mode of dealing with their enemies. As an illustration of this custom, they pointed out to Enciso the very uncomfortable spectacle of a row of grisly heads impaled in the neighbourhood.

"Nothing daunted either by the reply or the illustration, the bachelor menaced them with war and slavery as the consequences of their refusal to believe and submit. They replied by threatening to put his head upon a pole as a representative of his sovereign. The bachelor having furnished them with the law, now proceeded to the commentary. He attacked the Indians, routed them, and took one of the caciques prisoner, but in the skirmish two of his men were slightly wounded with poisoned arrows, and died raving with torment.*

"It does not appear, however, that his crusade against the sepulchres, was attended with any lucrative advantage."

The Bachelor Enciso contented himself with his victory, and returning to his ships, prepared to con-

*The above anecdote is related by the Bachelor Enciso himself, in a geographical work, entitled *Suma de Geographia*, which he published in Seville in 1519. As the reply of the poor savages contains something of natural logic, we give a part of it as reported by the bachelor: "Respondieron me: que en lo que dezia que no avia sino un dios y que este governaba el cielo y la tierra y que era señor de todo que les parecia y que asi debia ser: pero que en lo que dezia que el papa era señor de todo el universo en lugar de dios y que el avia fecho merced de aquella tierra al rey de Castilla; dixeron que el papa debiera estar boracho qaando lo hizo, pues daba lo que no era suyo, y que el rey que pedia y tomava tal merced debia ser algun loco pues pedia lo que era de otros," &c.

tinue his voyage to San Sebastian. The crew of the brigantine of Pizarro had great objection to returning thither. But it was well for Enciso that they accompanied him. For on entering the harbour, his vessel struck on a rock and was rent to pieces; and his crew escaped with great difficulty to the brigantine. On landing, he found the fortress and its adjacent houses mere heaps of ruins, having been destroyed with fire by the Indians. Enciso was disheartened at the situation of things, and took counsel from Vasco Nuñez, who offered to guide him to a village which he had seen when he sailed with Bastides, on the banks of a river called by the natives Darien. Here attacking the natives and putting them to flight, he took possession of their village and established his seat of government in it; giving to it the name of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien. Both he and his followers were greatly elated by their victory and their booty. But discontent soon arose; and Vasco Nuñez took advantage of it. He sought to make a party against the bachelor and to unseat him from his command. He attacked him in his own way, with legal weapons. The boundary line, he observed, which separated the jurisdictions of Ojeda and Nicuesa ran through the centre of the gulf of Uraba. The village of Darien lay on the western side which had been allotted to Nicuesa. Enciso, therefore, as alcalde mayor, and lieutenant of Ojeda, could have no jurisdiction here; his assumed authority was a sheer usurpation. The Spaniards, already incensed at some fiscal regulations of Enciso, were easily convinced; so, with one accord, they refused allegiance to him, and the unfortunate bachelor

found the chair of authority, to which he had so fondly aspired, suddenly wrested from under him. The people appointed Vasco Nuñez and one Zemudio as alcaldes, together with a cavalier, of some merit, of the name of Valdivia, as regidor. The altercations, however, did not cease. In the height of them two ships were seen standing across the gulf. They proved to be an armament commanded by one Rodrigo de Colmenares, and were in search of Nicuesa with supplies. He represented the right of Nicuesa to the command of all that part of the coast, and the people generally agreed that two persons should go with Rodrigo as ambassadors, to invite Nicuesa to come and assume the government of Darien.*

Proceeding along the coast to the westward, Rodrigo discovered, one day, a brigantine at a small island, and making up to it, found it had been sent out by Nicuesa to forage for provisions. By this vessel he was piloted to the port of Nombre de Dios. He found Nicuesa in the most abject misery; himself squalid and dejected; and of his men but sixty remaining; and they so feeble, yellow, emaciated and woe begone, that it was piteous to behold them. When Nicuesa heard of the settlement at Darien, and the mission thence to him, he was greatly revived. Unluckily, in conversing with the envoys he began to disclose the kind of policy with which he intended to rule; and when they went back, the report they made was not at all satisfactory. Other information soon afterwards received concerning Nicuesa, gave additional dissatisfaction to the people of Darien. Vasco Nuñez told them the obvious remedy was not to re-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 129 to 138.

ceive Nicuesa when he came; and this was determined on. So when Nicuesa approached the shore, instead of being received with honour, a public functionary warned him not to disembark. That day, they would not allow him to land; next day he was invited to land, but when he set foot on shore, the multitude rushed to seize him. Vasco Nuñez had not anticipated such popular fury, and endeavoured to allay the tempest he had raised. Through his mediation, Nicuesa now held a parley with the populace. He begged that if they would not acknowledge him as governor, they would, at least, admit him as a companion. This they refused, saying that if they admitted him in one capacity, it would end in his attaining the other. He then implored that if he could be admitted on no other terms, they would treat him as a prisoner and put him in irons, for he would rather die among them than return to Nombre de Dios. Even this was not granted. He was compelled by menaces of death, to swear that he would immediately depart, and make no delay in any place until he had presented himself before the king and council in Castile; and there was allotted to him the worst vessel in the harbour, an old crazy brigantine totally unfit to encounter the perils of the sea. Seventeen followers embarked with him; some being of his household and attached to his person; the rest were volunteers, who accompanied him out of respect and sympathy. The frail bark set sail on the 1st of March 1511, and steered across the Caribbean sea for the island of Hispaniola, but was never seen or heard of more.*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 138 to 146.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the return of the Bachelor Enciso to Spain in 1511; the attack of Vasco Nuñez upon Careta, the cacique of Coyba; the peace made between them, by Vasco Nuñez taking as a wife a young and beautiful daughter of Careta; the invasion by Nuñez of the territories of Ponca, an adversary of Careta; his friendly visit to Comagre; the skill and solidity of the architecture of Comagre's village; and the information received from the son of Comagre, of a great sea and opulent country beyond the mountains.

The question now was, who should have the rule. The Bachelor Enciso insisted upon his claims as paramount: but he who was to have been a judge upon the bench, now became a culprit at the bar. Vasco Nuñez had him tried for usurping the powers of Alcalde Mayor on the mere appointment of Alonzo de Ojeda, whose jurisdiction did not extend to this province. On this charge he was convicted and thrown into prison, and all his property was confiscated. His friends, however, interceded warmly in his behalf, and at length obtained his release from confinement and permission for him to return to Spain. In the small vessel in which he went, Vasco Nuñez prevailed on his fellow Alcalde Zamudio and the Regidor Valdivia to embark also; the former to return to Spain to make the best report he could; the latter to Hispaniola, to obtain provisions and recruits, and make a present to the treasurer of that island, (who had credit with the king and extensive powers,) and crave

his protection in the new world and his influence at court.*

Vasco Nuñez sent Pizarro with six men, to explore a province about thirty leagues distant, called Coyba, in which expedition there was a conflict with the natives. He also dispatched two brigantines for such of the followers of Nicuesa as remained at Nombre de Dios: they rejoiced at being brought to Darien. In coasting the shores, the brigantines picked up two Spaniards, who, to escape some punishment, had fled from the ship of Nicuesa about a year and a half before, and had taken refuge with Careta, the cacique of Coyba. By him they had been treated with hospitable kindness, and their first return for it, now that they were safe among their countrymen, was to advise the latter to invade the cacique in his dwelling, where they assured them immense booty would be found. One of them proceeded to Darien to serve as a guide to any such expedition; the other returned to the cacique, to assist in betraying him. After Nuñez had been received by the cacique with hospitality, he made a pretended departure for Darien with his troops; and in the dead of night, when the Indians were asleep, led his men into the village, and made captives of Careta, his wives and children, and many of his people. He discovered, also, a hoard of provisions, with which he loaded two brigantines. And then he returned with his booty and his captives to Darien.†

"When the unfortunate cacique beheld his family in chains, and in the hands of strangers, his heart was wrung

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 138 to 150. † Id. p. 151 to 153.

with despair: 'What have I done to thee,' said he to Vasco Nuñez, 'that thou shouldst treat me thus cruelly? None of thy people ever came to my land that were not fed, and sheltered, and treated with loving kindness. When thou camest to my dwelling, did I meet thee with a javelin in my hand? Did I not set meat and drink before thee, and welcome thee as a brother? Set me free, therefore, with my family and people, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions, and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold my daughter, I give her to thee as a pledge of friendship. Take her for thy wife, and be assured of the fidelity of her family and her people!' "*

The maid was young and beautiful; and Nuñez felt the importance of a strong alliance with the natives. He granted the father's prayer and accepted the daughter. She remained with Nuñez, and was his wife, according to the usages of her country; he treated her with fondness, and she gradually acquired great influence over him.†

Nuñez had promised the cacique to aid him against his enemies, on condition of his furnishing provisions to the colony. Taking with him eighty men, and his companion in arms Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, he repaired by sea to Coyba. Here landing, he invaded the territories of Ponca, the great adversary of Careta, and obliged him to take refuge in the mountains. He then ravaged his lands and sacked his villages, in which he found considerable booty. Returning to Coyba, he next made a friendly visit to the adjacent province of Comagre, which was under a

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 153, 4. † Id. p. 154, 5.

cacique with three thousand fighting men. His dwelling surpassed any they had yet seen for magnitude and for the skill and solidity of the architecture. It was one hundred and fifty paces in length and eighty in breadth, founded upon great logs, surrounded with a stone wall; while the upper part was of wood work, curiously interwoven and wrought with great beauty. It contained many commodious apartments. In a retired part of it was a great hall, wherein Comagre preserved the bodies of his relatives. These had been dried by the fire, so as to free them from corruption, and afterwards wrapped in mantles of cotton, richly wrought and interwoven with pearls and jewels of gold, and with certain stones held precious by the natives. They were then hung about the hall with cords of cotton, and regarded with great reverence, if not a species of religious devotion. A son of the cacique gave to Nuñez and Colmenares four thousand ounces of gold, wrought into various ornaments, together with sixty slaves, being captives that he had taken in the wars. Nuñez ordered one fifth of the gold to be set apart for the crown, and the rest to be shared among his followers. When the Spaniards were weighing it out, a quarrel arose among them as to the size and value of the pieces which fell to their respective shares. The Indian who had made the gift, then spoke to them in this manner:*

"'Why should you quarrel for such a trifle? If this gold is indeed so precious in your eyes, that for it alone you abandon your homes, invade the peaceful lands of

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 156 to 158.

others, and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a region where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold those lofty mountains,' continued he, pointing to the south. 'Beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels almost as large as yours, and furnished, like them, with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea, abound in gold; and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as plentiful and common among those people of the south, as iron is among you Spaniards.'

"Struck with this intelligence, Vasco Nuñez inquired eagerly as to the means of penetrating to this sea and to the opulent regions on its shores. 'The task,' replied the prince, 'is difficult and dangerous. You must pass through the territories of many powerful caciques, who will oppose you with hosts of warriors. Some parts of the mountains are infested by fierce and cruel cannibals, a wandering, lawless race: but, above all, you will have to encounter the great cacique Tubanamá, whose territories are at the distance of six days journey, and more rich in gold than any other province; this cacique will be sure to come forth against you with a mighty force. To accomplish your enterprise, therefore, will require at least a thousand men, armed like those who follow you.'

"The youthful cacique gave him further information on the subject, collected from various captives whom he had taken in battle, and from one of his own nation, who had been for a long time in captivity to Tubanamá, the powerful cacique of the golden realm. The prince, moreover, offered to prove the sincerity of his words by accompanying Vasco Nuñez in any expedition to those parts, at the head of his father's warriors.

"Such was the first intimation received by Vasco Nuñez of the Pacific Ocean and its golden realms, and it had an immediate effect upon his whole character and conduct. This hitherto wandering and desperate man had now an enterprise opened to his ambition, which, if accomplished, would elevate him to fame and fortune, and entitle him to rank among the great captains and discoverers of the earth. Henceforth the discovery of the sea beyond the mountains was the great object of his thoughts, and his whole spirit seemed roused and ennobled by the idea.

"He hastened his return to Darien, to make the necessary preparations for this splendid enterprise. Before departing from the province of Comagre he baptized that cacique by the name of Don Carlos, and performed the same ceremony upon his sons and several of his subjects. Thus singularly did avarice and religion go hand in hand in the conduct of the Spanish discoverers.

"Scarcely had Vasco Nuñez returned to Darien, when the Regidor Valdivia arrived there from Hispaniola, but with no more provisions than could be brought in his small caravel. These were soon consumed, and the general scarcity continued. It was heightened also by a violent tempest of thunder, lightning and rain, which brought such torrents from the mountains that the river swelled and overflowed its banks, laying waste all the adjacent fields that had been cultivated. In this extremity Vasco Nuñez dispatched Valdivia a second time to Hispaniola for provisions. Animated also by the loftier views of his present ambition, he wrote to Don Diego Columbus, who governed at San Domingo, informing him of the intelligence he had received of a great sea and opulent realms beyond the mountains, and entreating him to use his influence with the king that one thousand men might be immediately furnished him for the prosecution of so grand a discovery. He sent him also the amount of fifteen thousand crowns in gold, to

be remitted to the king as the royal fifths of what had already been collected under his jurisdiction. Many of his followers, also, forwarded sums of gold, to be remitted to their creditors in Spain. In the meantime, Vasco Nuñez prayed the admiral to yield him prompt succour to enable him to keep his footing in the land, representing the difficulty he had in maintaining, with a mere handful of men, so vast a country in a state of subjection."*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 158 to 160.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the death of Americus Vespucius in 1512, and the appointment of Sebastian Cabot as his successor: Bartholomew Columbus sent this year from Spain with instructions to his nephew the admiral.

Americus Vespucius retained the office of chief pilot of Spain until his death on the 22d of February 1512. His widow Maria Corezo was then allowed a pension of ten thousand maravedis.* Vespucius was succeeded by Juan Diaz de Solis as chief pilot, and Sebastian Cabot succeeded him.†

There is not a concurrence in opinion as to the precise time at which Sebastian Cabot went from England to Spain. "We are told by Peter Martyr, (Decade iii. chap vi.) that Cabot being called out of England, by the King of Castile, after the death of Henry the Seventh, was made one of the council and assistants touching the affairs of the Indias."† The death of Henry the Seventh occurred in 1509. That Cabot did not leave England till after this event is also the opinion of Mr. Biddle, who proceeds to say that "Herrera, the writer of the highest authority on these subjects—historiographer of the King of Spain, and enjoying familiar access to every document, stated more than two centuries ago that Cabot

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 252, Appendix No. 10. Life of Vespucius, p. 256 to 264; also p. 395 to 397.

† Life of Vespucius, p. 397.

received his appointment from the King of Spain on the 13th of September 1512, and even furnished the particulars of the negotiation."*

The king judged it expedient in 1512 to send out Don Bartholomew Columbus with minute instructions to his nephew the admiral.†

"Don Bartholomew still retained the office of Adelantado of the Indias; although Ferdinand, through selfish motives, detained him in Spain while he employed inferior men in voyages of discovery. He now added to his appointments the property and government of the little island of Mona during life, and assigned him a repartimiento of two hundred Indians, with the superintendence of the mines which might be discovered in Cuba; an office which proved very lucrative.‡

"Among the instructions given by the king to Don Diego, he directed that, in consequence of the representations of the Dominican friars, the labour of the natives should be reduced one third; that negro slaves should be procured from Guinea as a relief to the Indians;§ and that Carib slaves should be branded on the leg, to prevent other Indians from being confounded with them and subjected to harsh treatment."||¶

* Memoir of Cabot, p. 97. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 9.

† Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 218, Appendix No. 2.

‡ Charlevoix, Hist. St. Domingo, p. 321.

§ Herrera, Hist. Ind. d. 1, l. 9, c. 5.

|| Idem.

¶ Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 219, Appendix No. 2.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the discovery of Florida in 1512, by Juan Ponce de Leon.

After Juan Ponce de Leon resigned the command of Porto Rico, he was still for a while on the island. Mr. Irving gives the following account of him at this period.*

"He met with some old Indians who gave him tidings of a country which promised, not merely to satisfy the cravings of his ambition, but to realize the fondest dreams of the poets. They assured him that, far to the north there existed a land abounding in gold and in all manner of delights; but, above all, possessing a river of such wonderful virtue, that whoever bathed in it would be restored to youth! They added, that in times past, before the arrival of the Spaniards, a large party of the natives of Cuba had departed northward in search of this happy land and this river of life, and, having never returned, it was concluded that they were flourishing in renovated youth, detained by the pleasures of that enchanting country.

"Here was the dream of the Alchymist realized! one had but to find this gifted land and revel in the enjoyment of boundless riches and perennial youth! Nay, some of the ancient Indians declared that it was not necessary to go so far in quest of these rejuvenating waters, for that, in a certain island of the Bahama group, called Bimini, which lay

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 312 to 318.

far out in the ocean, there was a fountain possessing the same marvellous and inestimable qualities.

"Juan Ponce de Leon listened to these tales with fond credulity. He was advancing in life, and the ordinary term of existence seemed insufficient for his mighty plans. Could he but plunge into this marvellous fountain or gifted river, and come out with his battered, war-worn body restored to the strength and freshness and suppleness of youth, and his head still retaining the wisdom and knowledge of age, what enterprises might he not accomplish in the additional course of vigorous years insured to him!

"It may seem incredible, at the present day, that a man of years and experience could yield any faith to a story which resembles the wild fiction of an Arabian tale; but the wonders and novelties breaking upon the world in that age of discovery, almost realized the illusions of fable, and the imaginations of the Spanish voyagers had become so heated that they were capable of any stretch of credulity.

"So fully persuaded was the worthy old cavalier of the existence of the region described to him, that he fitted out three ships at his own expense, to prosecute the discovery, nor had he any difficulty in finding adventurers in abundance, ready to cruise with him in quest of this fairy-land.*

*It was not the credulous minds of voyagers and adventurers alone that were heated by these Indian traditions and romantic fables. Men of learning and eminence were likewise beguiled by them: witness the following extract from the second decade of Peter Martyr, addressed to Leo X., then Bishop of Rome:

"Among the islands on the north side of Hispaniola, there is one about three hundred and twenty-five leagues distant, as they say which have searched the same, in the which is a continual spring of running water, of such marvellous virtue, that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, maketh olde men young again. And here I must make protestation to your holiness not to think this to be said lightly or rashly, for they have so spread this rumour for a truth throughout all the court, that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath divided from the common sort, think it to be true; but, if you will ask my opinion herein, I will answer that I will not attribute so great power to nature, but that God hath no lesse reserved this prerogative to himself than to search the hearts of men," &c.—P. Martyr, D. 2, c. 10, Lok's Translation.

"It was on the 3d of March 1512, that Juan Ponce sailed with his three ships from the port of St. Germain, in the island of Porto Rico. He kept for some distance along the coast of Hispaniola, and then stretching away to the northward, made for the Bahama islands, and soon fell in with the first of the group. He was favoured with propitious weather and tranquil seas, and glided smoothly with wind and current along that verdant archipelago, visiting one island after another, until, on the 14th of the month, he arrived at Guanahani, or St. Salvador's, where Christopher Columbus had first put his foot on the shores of the new world. His inquiries for the island of Bimini were all in vain, and as to the fountain of youth, he may have drank of every fountain, and river, and lake, in the archipelago, even to the salt pools of Turk's island, without being a whit the younger.

"Still he was not discouraged; but, having repaired his ships, he again put to sea, and shaped his course to the northwest. On Sunday, the 27th of March, he came in sight of what he supposed to be an island, but was prevented from landing by adverse weather. He continued hovering about it for several days, buffeted by the elements, until, in the night of the 2d of April, he succeeded in coming to anchor under the land, in thirty degrees eight minutes of latitude. The whole country was in the fresh bloom of spring; the trees were gay with blossoms, and the fields covered with flowers; from which circumstance, as well as from having discovered it on Palm Sunday, (Pascua Florida,) he gave it the name of Florida, which it retains to the present day. The Indian name of the country was Cautio.*

"Juan Ponce landed, and took possession of the country in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. He afterwards continued for several weeks ranging the coasts of this flow-

*Herrera, Hist. Ind., d. 1, l. ix., c. 10.

ery land, and struggling against the gulf-stream and the various currents which sweep it. He doubled Cape Cañaveral, and reconnoitered the southern and eastern shores, without suspecting that this was a part of Terra Firma. In all his attempts to explore the country, he met with resolute and implacable hostility on the part of the natives, who appeared to be a fierce and warlike race. He was disappointed also, in his hopes of finding gold, nor did any of the rivers or fountains which he examined, possess the rejuvenating virtue. Convinced, therefore, that this was not the promised land of Indian tradition, he turned his prow homeward on the 14th of June, with the intention in the way of making one more attempt to find the island of Bimini.

"In the outset of his return, he discovered a group of islets abounding with sea-fowl and marine animals. On one of them, his sailors, in the course of a single night, caught one hundred and seventy turtles, and might have taken many more, had they been so inclined. They likewise took fourteen sea-wolves, and killed a vast quantity of pelicans and other birds. To this group Juan Ponce gave the name of the Tortugas, or Turtles, which they still retain.

"Proceeding in his cruise, he touched at another group of islets, near the Lucayos, to which he gave the name of La Vieja, or the Old Woman group, because he found no inhabitant there but one old Indian woman.* This ancient sybil he took on board his ship, to give him information about the labyrinth of islands into which he was entering, and perhaps he could not have had a more suitable guide in the eccentric quest he was making. Notwithstanding her pilotage, however, he was exceedingly baffled and perplexed in his return voyage among the Bahama islands, for he was forcing his way, as it were, against the course of

* Herrera, d. 1, l. ix.

nature, and encountering the currents which sweep westward along these islands, and the trade-wind which accompanies them. For a long time he struggled with all kinds of difficulties and dangers; and was obliged to remain upwards of a month in one of the islands, to repair the damages which his ship had suffered in a storm.

"Disheartened at length by the perils and trials with which nature seemed to have beset the approach to Bimini, as to some fairy island in romance, he gave up the quest in person, and sent in his place a trusty captain, Juan Perez de Ortubia, who departed in one of the other ships, guided by the experienced old woman of the isles, and by another Indian. As to Juan Ponce, he made the best of his way back to Porto Rico, where he arrived infinitely poorer in purse and wrinkled in brow, by this cruise after inexhaustible riches and perpetual youth.

"He had not been long in port when his trusty envoy, Juan Perez, likewise arrived. Guided by the sage old woman, he had succeeded in finding the long-sought-for Bimini. He described it as being large, verdant, and covered with beautiful groves. There were crystal springs and limpid streams in abundance, which kept the island in perpetual verdure, but none that could restore to an old man the vernal greenness of his youth.

"Thus ended the romantic expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon. Like many other pursuits of a chimera, it terminated in the acquisition of a substantial good. Though he had failed in finding the fairy fountain of youth, he had discovered in place of it the important country of Florida."*

* The belief of the existence, in Florida, of a river like that sought by Juan Ponce, was long prevalent among the Indians of Cuba, and the caciques were anxious to discover it. That a party of the natives of Cuba once went in search of it, and remained there, appears to be a fact, as their descendants were afterwards to be traced among the people of Florida. Las Casas says, that even in his days, many persisted in seeking this mystery, and some thought that the river was no other than that called the Jordan, at the point of St. Helena; without considering that the name was given to it by the Spaniards in the year 1520, when they discovered the land of Chicora.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of several expeditions of Vasco Nuñez in 1512; the conspiracy this year by the natives and the defeat of their plan; the absence of news from Valdivia who had been sent on a mission to Hispaniola; the stranding of Valdivia and his crew on the coast of Yucatan; the sending of commissioners from Darien to Spain; and the arrival at Darien of ships from Hispaniola with supplies.

While Vasco Nuñez was waiting the result of the second mission of Valdivia to Hispaniola, he embarked with one hundred and seventy of his hardiest men in two brigantines and a number of canoes, and, after standing about nine leagues to the east, came to the mouth of the Rio Grande de San Juan, or the great river of St. John, also called the Atrato, since ascertained to be one of the branches of the Darien. He detached Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares with one third of his forces to explore the stream, while he himself, with the residue, proceeded to and ascended another branch. He reached an Indian village in the province of Dobayba, but it was silent and abandoned. Here, however, he gathered jewels and pieces of gold to the value of seven thousand castellanos, and putting this booty in two large canoes made his way back to the gulf of Uraba. There, in a violent tempest, these two canoes were swallowed up by the sea and all their crews perished. The two brigantines were also nearly wrecked: it became necessary, to save them, to throw a great part of their

cargoes overboard. Yet Nuñez at length succeeded in getting into what was termed the Grand river and rejoined Colmenares. They now ascended a stream which emptied into this river, and which, from the dark hue of its waters, they called Rio Negro, or the Black river. They also explored certain other tributary streams, branching from it, though not without occasional skirmishes with the natives. Having overrun a considerable extent of country, Nuñez returned to Darien with the spoils and captives he had taken, leaving Bartolome Hurtado with thirty men in an Indian river on the Rio Negro or Black river, to hold the country in subjection. This lieutenant hunting the straggling natives picked up twenty-four captives whom he put on board of a large canoe to be transported to Darien. Twenty of his followers, infirm from wounds or disease, embarking also in the canoe, Hurtado had only ten men left with him. The ark being waylaid, some of the Spaniards were massacred and others drowned: only two escaped to carry news of this catastrophe to Hurtado, who heard also of a plan for an attack on Darien. Thither he hastened with the remnant of his men. But his intelligence of a conspiracy among the natives was little heeded.*

"Fortunately for the Spaniards, among the female captives owned by Vasco Nuñez was an Indian damsel named Fulvia; to whom, in consequence of her beauty, he had shown great favour, and who had become strongly attached to him. She had a brother among the warriors of Zemaco, who often visited her in secret. In one of his visits, he informed her that on a certain night the settlement would be

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 161 to 168.

attacked and every Spaniard destroyed. He charged her, therefore, to hide herself that night in a certain place until he should come to her aid, lest she should be slain in the confusion of the massacre.

"When her brother was gone, a violent struggle took place in the bosom of the Indian girl between her feeling for her family and her people, and her affection for Vasco Nuñez. The latter at length prevailed, and she revealed all that had been told to her. Vasco Nuñez prevailed upon her to send for her brother under pretence of aiding her to escape. Having him in his power, he extorted from him all that he knew of the designs of the enemy. His confessions showed what imminent danger had been lurking round Vasco Nuñez in his most unsuspecting moments. The prisoner informed him that he had been one of forty Indians sent some time before by the cacique Zemaco to Vasco Nuñez, in seeming friendship, to be employed by him in cultivating the fields adjacent to the settlement. They had secret orders, however, to take an opportunity when Vasco Nuñez should come forth to inspect their work, to set upon him in an unguarded moment, and destroy him. Fortunately, Vasco Nuñez always visited the fields mounted on his war horse, and armed with lance and target. The Indians were therefore so awed by his martial appearance, and by the terrible animal he bestrode, that they dared not attack him.

"Foiled in this and other attempts of the kind, Zemaco resorted to the conspiracy with the neighbouring caciques with which the settlement was menaced.

"Five caciques had joined in the confederacy: they had prepared a hundred canoes; had amassed provisions for an army, and had concerted to assemble five thousand picked warriors at a certain time and place; with these they were to make an attack on the settlement by land and water, in the middle of the night, and to slaughter every Spaniard.

"Having learnt where the confederate chiefs were to be found, and where they had deposited their provisions, Vasco Nuñez chose seventy of his best men well armed, and made a circuit by land, while Colmenares, with sixty men, sallied forth secretly in four canoes, guided by the Indian prisoner. In this way they surprised the general of the Indian army and several of the principal confederates, and got possession of all their provisions, though they failed to capture the formidable Zemaco. The Indian general was shot to death with arrows, and the leaders of the conspiracy were hanged in presence of their captive followers. The defeat of this deep laid plan, and the punishment of its devisers, spread terror thoughout the neighbouring provinces, and prevented any further attempt at hostilities. Vasco Nuñez, however, caused a strong fortress of wood to be immediately erected, to guard against any future assaults of the savages."*

A considerable time had now elapsed since the departure of Valdivia for Hispaniola, without any tidings of him. Encountering a violent hurricane when in sight of Jamaica, he had been driven on the rocks called the Vipers, since instrumental in many a shipwreck. His vessel soon went to pieces, and Valdivia and his crew, consisting of twenty men, escaped with difficulty in the boat, without having a supply either of water or provisions. They were driven about for thirteen days, during which time they suffered excessively from hunger and thirst. Seven of their number perished, and the rest were nearly famished when they were stranded on the eastern coast of Yucatan, in a province called Maya. Here they were carried

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 168 to 170.

off by the natives to the cacique of the province, by whose orders they were mewed up in a kind of pen.*

"At first their situation appeared tolerable enough considering the horrors from which they had escaped. They were closely confined, it is true, but they had plenty to eat and drink, and soon began to recover flesh and vigour. In a little while, however, their enjoyment of this good cheer met with a sudden check, for the unfortunate Valdivia, and four of his companions, were singled out by the cacique, on account of their improved condition, to be offered up to his idols. The natives of this coast in fact were cannibals, devouring the flesh of their enemies and of such strangers as fell into their hands. The wretched Valdivia and his fellow victims, therefore, were sacrificed in the bloody temple of the idol, and their limbs afterwards served up at a grand feast held by the cacique and his subjects.

"The horror of the survivors may be more readily imagined than described. Their hearts died within them when they heard the yells and howlings of the savages over their victims, and the still more horrible revelry of their cannibal orgies. They turned with loathing from the food set so abundantly before them, at the idea that it was but intended to fatten them for a future banquet.

"Recovering from the first stupor of alarm, their despair lent them additional force. They succeeded in breaking, in the night, from the kind of cage in which they were confined, and fled to the depths of the forest. Here they wandered about forlorn, exposed to all the dangers and miseries of the wilderness; famishing with hunger, yet dreading to approach the haunts of men. At length their sufferings drove them forth from the woods into another part of the country, where they were again taken captive. The cacique of this province, however, was an enemy to the one

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 171, 277, 8.

from whom they had escaped, and of less cruel propensities. He spared their lives, and contented himself with making them slaves, exacting from them the severest labour. They had to cut and draw wood, to procure water from a distance, and to carry enormous burthens. The cacique died soon after their capture, and was succeeded by another called Taxmar. He was a chief of some talent and sagacity, but he continued the same rigorous treatment of the captives. By degrees they sank beneath the hardships of their lot, until only two were left; one of them a sturdy sailor named Gonzalo Guerrero, the other a kind of clerical adventurer named Jeronimo de Aguilar. The sailor had the good luck to be transferred to the service of the cacique of the neighbouring province of Chatemal, by whom he was treated with kindness. Being a thorough son of the ocean, seasoned to all weathers, and ready for any chance or change, he soon accommodated himself to his new situation, followed the cacique to the wars, rose by his hardihood and prowess to be a distinguished warrior, and succeeded in gaining the heart and hand of an Indian princess.

"The other survivor, Jeronimo de Aguilar, was of a different complexion. He was a native of Ecija, in Andalusia, and had been brought up to the church, and regularly ordained, and shortly afterwards had sailed in one of the expeditions to San Domingo, from whence he had passed to Darien.

"He proceeded in a different mode from that adopted by his comrade, the sailor, in his dealings with the Indians, and in one more suited to his opposite calling. Instead of playing the hero among the men, and the gallant among the women, he recollected his priestly obligations to humility and chastity. Accordingly, he made himself a model of meekness and obedience to the cacique and his warriors, while he closed his eyes to the charms of the infidel women. Nay, in the latter respect, he reinforced his clerical

vows, by a solemn promise to God, to resist all temptations of the flesh, so he might be delivered out of the hands of these Gentiles.

"Such were the opposite measures of the sailor and the saint, and they appear to have been equally successful. Aguilar, by his meek obedience to every order, however arbitrary and capricious, gradually won the good will of the cacique and his family. Taxmar, however, subjected him to many trials before he admitted him to his entire confidence. One day when the Indians, painted and decorated in warlike style, were shooting at a mark, a warrior, who had for some time fixed his eyes on Aguilar, approached suddenly and seized him by the arm. 'Thou seest,' said he, 'the certainty of these archers; if they aim at the eye, they hit the eye—if at the mouth, they hit the mouth—what wouldst thou think, if thou wert to be placed instead of the mark, and they were to shoot at and miss thee?'

"Aguilar secretly trembled, lest he should be the victim of some cruel caprice of the kind. Dissembling his fears, however, he replied with great submission, 'I am your slave, and you may do with me as you please; but you are too wise to destroy a slave who is so useful and obedient.' His answer pleased the cacique, who had secretly sent this warrior to try his humility.

"Another trial of the worthy Jeronimo was less stern and fearful indeed, but equally perplexing. The cacique had remarked his unexampled discretion with respect to the sex, but doubted his sincerity. After laying many petty temptations in his way, which Jeronimo resisted with the self-denial of a saint, he at length determined to subject him to a fiery ordeal. He accordingly sent him on a fishing expedition, accompanied by a buxom damsel of fourteen years of age: they were to pass the night by the sea-side, so as to be ready to fish at the first dawn of day,

and were allowed but one hammock to sleep in. It was an embarrassing predicament—not apparently to the Indian beauty, but certainly to the scrupulous Jeronimo. He remembered, however, his double vow, and, suspending his hammock to two trees, resigned it to his companion; while, lighting a fire on the sea shore, he stretched himself before it on the sand. It was, as he acknowledged, a night of fearful trial, for his sandy couch was cold and cheerless, the hammock warm and tempting; and the infidel damsel had been instructed to assail him with all manner of blandishments and reproaches. His resolution, however, though often shaken, was never overcome; and the morning dawned upon him still faithful to his vow.

"The fishing over, he returned to the residence of the cacique, where his companion, being closely questioned, made known the triumph of his self-denial before all the people. From that time forward he was held in great respect; the cacique, especially, treated him with unlimited confidence, entrusting to him the care, not merely of his house, but of his wives, during his occasional absence.

"Aguilar now felt ambitious of rising to greater consequence among the savages, but this he knew was only to be done by deeds of arms. He had the example of the sturdy seaman, Gonzalo Guerrero, before his eyes, who had become a great captain in the province in which he resided. He entreated Taxmar, therefore, to entrust him with bow and arrows, buckler and war club, and to enrol him among his warriors. The cacique complied. Aguilar soon made himself expert at his new weapons, signalized himself repeatedly in battle, and, from his superior knowledge of the arts of war, rendered Taxmar such essential service, as to excite the jealousy of some of the neighbouring caciques. One of them remonstrated with Taxmar for employing a warrior who was of a different religion, and insisted that Aguilar should be sacrificed to their gods. 'No,' replied

Taxmar, 'I will not make so base a return for such signal services: surely the gods of Aguilar must be good, since they aid him so effectually in maintaining a just cause.'

"The cacique was so incensed at this reply, that he assembled his warriors and marched to make war upon Taxmar. Many of the counsellors of the latter urged him to give up the stranger, who was the cause of this hostility. Taxmar, however, rejected their counsel with disdain, and prepared for battle. Aguilar assured him that his faith in the Christian's God would be rewarded with victory; he, in fact, concerted a plan of battle, which was adopted. Concealing himself, with a chosen band of warriors, among thickets and herbage, he suffered the enemy to pass by in making their attack. Taxmar and his host pretended to give way at the first onset. The foe rushed heedlessly in pursuit; whereupon Aguilar and his ambuscade assaulted them in the rear. Taxmar turned upon them in front; they were thrown in confusion, routed with great slaughter, and many of their chiefs taken prisoners. This victory gave Taxmar the sway over the land, and strengthened Aguilar more than ever in his good graces."*

In the absence of any tidings at Darien, from either Valdivia or Zamudio, it was determined to send thence two commissioners to Spain, to communicate what had been heard of the Southern sea, to ask for the troops necessary for its discovery, and to make all necessary representations to the king, accompanied by a native of the province of Zenu, where gold was said to be gathered in nets stretched across the mountain streams. To give more weight to such stories, every one contributed some portion of gold from his private hoard, to be presented to the king, in addi-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 278 to 283.

tion to his fifths. But little time elapsed after the departure of the commissioners, before dissensions broke out in the colony. It is impossible to say how they would have ended, had not two ships arrived at this juncture from Hispaniola, freighted with supplies and bringing a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men. They also brought a commission to Vasco Nuñez, signed by Miguel de Pasamonte, the royal treasurer of Hispaniola, constituting him captain-general of the colony.*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 171 to 175.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the journey by Vasco Nuñez across the isthmus of Darien, and his discovery of the Pacific Ocean on the 26th of September 1513.

Soon unfavourable tidings were received from Spain. Word was written by Zamudio that the Bachelor Enciso had obtained a sentence in his favour against Nuñez for damages and costs, and that Nuñez would be summoned to Spain to answer charges against him on account of the harsh treatment and probable death of Nicuesa. This information was, however, in a private letter; no order had yet been received from the king, and Nuñez had still control over the colony. One brilliant achievement might atone for the past and fix him in the favour of the monarch. He chose from his men, one hundred and ninety of the most resolute and vigorous, and the most devoted to his person, and took with him a number of blood-hounds. The famous warrior dog of Juan Ponce was killed by a poisoned arrow as he was swimming in the sea in pursuit of a Carib Indian. He left, however, a numerous progeny and a great name behind him.* He was father to Leoncico, a constant companion, and, as it were, body guard of Vasco Nuñez. Leoncico was scarred all over with wounds received in innumerable battles with the Indians. Nuñez always took him on his expeditions,

* See *ante*, p. 169, and Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 308.

and sometimes lent him to others, receiving for his services the same share of booty allotted to an armed man. In this way, he gained by him upwards of a thousand crowns. Nuñez had the aid also of a number of the Indians of Darien.*

It was on the first of September 1513, that Vasco Nuñez embarked with these followers in a brigantine and nine large canoes. He soon arrived at Coyba where he was received by the cacique Careta with open arms, and furnished with guides and warriors to aid him. About half of his men he left at Coyba to guard the brigantine and canoes while he penetrated the wilderness with the residue. On the 6th of September he struck off for the mountains, and on the 8th he arrived at the village of Ponca, the ancient enemy of Careta. This village was abandoned, but while the Spaniards remained in it, the retreat of Ponca was discovered, and he was prevailed upon to come to Nuñez. This cacique assured Nuñez of the truth of what had been told him of a great sea beyond the mountains, and gave him several ornaments ingeniously wrought of fine gold which had been brought from the countries upon its borders. Nuñez procured fresh guides from the cacique and sent back such of his men as had become ill from fatigue and the heat of the climate. On the 20th of September he again set forward.†

"So toilsome was the journey, that in four days they did not advance above ten leagues, and in the mean time they suffered excessively from hunger. At the end of this

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 176 to 178. † Id. p. 179 to 181.

time they arrived at the province of a warlike cacique, named Quaraqua, who was at war with Ponca.

"Hearing that a band of strangers were entering his territories, guided by the subjects of his inveterate foe, the cacique took the field with a large number of warriors, some armed with bows and arrows, others with long spears, or with double handed maces of palm wood, almost as heavy and hard as iron. Seeing the inconsiderable number of the Spaniards, they set upon them with furious yells, thinking to overcome them in an instant. The first discharge of fire-arms, however, struck them with dismay. They thought they were contending with demons who vomited forth thunder and lightning, especially when they saw their companions fall bleeding and dead beside them, without receiving any apparent blow. They took to headlong flight, and were hotly pursued by the Spaniards and their bloodhounds. Some were transfixed with lances, others hewn down with swords, and many were torn to pieces by the dogs, so that Quaraqua and six hundred of his warriors were left dead upon the field.

"A brother of the cacique and several chiefs were taken prisoners. They were clad in robes of white cotton. Either from their effeminate dress, or from the accusations of their enemies, the Spaniards were induced to consider them guilty of unnatural crimes, and, in their abhorrence and disgust, gave them to be torn to pieces by the bloodhounds."*

"After this sanguinary triumph, the Spaniards marched to the village of Quaraqua, where they found considerable booty in gold and jewels. Of this Vasco Nuñez reserved one fifth for the crown, and shared the rest liberally among his followers. The village was at the foot of the last mountain that remained for them to climb: several of the Spa-

* Herrera, Hist. Ind. d. 1, l. x. c. 1. Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 181, 2.

niards, however, were so disabled by the wounds they had received in battle, or so exhausted by the fatigue and hunger they had endured, that they were unable to proceed. They were obliged, therefore, reluctantly to remain in the village, within sight of the mountain-top that commanded the long-sought prospect. Vasco Nuñez selected fresh guides from among his prisoners, who were natives of the province, and sent back the subjects of Ponca. Of the band of Spaniards who had set out with him in this enterprise, sixty-seven alone remained in sufficient health and spirits for this last effort. These he ordered to retire early to repose, that they might be ready to set off at the cool and fresh hour of day-break, so as to reach the summit of the mountain before the noon-tide heat."*

"The day had scarcely dawned, when Vasco Nuñez and his followers set forth from the Indian village and began to climb the height. It was a severe and rugged toil for men so wayworn, but they were filled with new ardour at the idea of the triumphant scene that was so soon to repay them for all their hardships.

"About ten o'clock in the morning, they emerged from the thick forests through which they had hitherto struggled, and arrived at a lofty and airy region of the mountain. The bald summit alone remained to be ascended, and their guides pointed to a moderate eminence, from which they said the southern sea was visible.

"Upon this Vasco Nuñez commanded his followers to halt, and that no man should stir from his place. Then, with a palpitating heart, he ascended alone the bare mountain-top. On reaching the summit, the long-desired prospect burst upon his view. It was as if a new world were unfolded to him, separated from all hitherto known by this mighty barrier of mountains. Below him extended a vast chaos of rock and forest, and green savannahs and wander-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 182, 3.

ing streams, while at a distance the waters of the promised ocean glittered in the morning sun.

"At this glorious prospect, Vasco Nuñez sank upon his knees, and poured out thanks to God for being the first European to whom it was given to make that great discovery. He then called his people to ascend: 'Behold, my friends,' said he, 'that glorious sight which we have so much desired. Let us give thanks to God that he has granted us this great honour and advantage. Let us pray to him that he will guide and aid us to conquer the sea and land which we have discovered, and in which Christian has never entered to preach the holy doctrine of the Evangelists. As to yourselves, be as you have hitherto been, faithful and true to me, and by the favour of Christ you will become the richest Spaniards that have ever come to the Indias; you will render the greatest services to your king that ever vassal rendered to his lord; and you will have the eternal glory and advantage of all that is here discovered, conquered, and converted to our holy Catholic faith.'

"The Spaniards answered this speech by embracing Vasco Nuñez, and promising to follow him to death. Among them was a priest, named Andres de Vara, who lifted up his voice and chanted *Te Deum laudamus*—the usual anthem of Spanish discoverers. The people, kneeling down, joined in the strain with pious enthusiasm and tears of joy; and never did a more sincere oblation rise to the Deity from a sanctified altar, than from that wild mountain summit. It was indeed one of the most sublime discoveries that had yet been made in the New World, and must have opened a boundless field of conjecture to the wondering Spaniards. The imagination delights to picture forth the splendid confusion of their thoughts. Was this the great Indian Ocean, studded with precious islands, abounding in gold, in gems, and spices, and bordered by the gorgeous cities and wealthy marts of the East? Or was it

some lonely sea, locked up in the embraces of savage uncultivated continents, and never traversed by a bark, excepting the light pirogue of the Indian? The latter could hardly be the case, for the natives had told the Spaniards of golden realms, and populous, and powerful and luxurious nations upon its shores. Perhaps it might be bordered by various people, civilized in fact, but differing from Europe in their civilization; who might have peculiar laws and customs and arts and sciences; who might form, as it were, a world of their own, intercommuning by this mighty sea, and carrying on commerce between their own islands and continents; but who might exist in total ignorance and independence of the other hemisphere.

"Such may naturally have been the ideas suggested by the sight of this unknown ocean. It was the prevalent belief of the Spaniards, however, that they were the first Christians who had made the discovery. Vasco Nuñez, therefore, called upon all present to witness that he took possession of that sea, its islands, and surrounding lands, in the name of the sovereigns of Castile; and the notary of the expedition made a testimonial of the same, to which all present, to the number of sixty-seven men, signed their names. He then caused a fair and tall tree to be cut down and wrought into a cross, which was elevated on the spot from whence he had at first beheld the sea. A mound of stones was likewise piled up to serve as a monument, and the names of the Castilian sovereigns were carved on the neighbouring trees. The Indians beheld all these ceremonials and rejoicings in silent wonder, and, while they aided to erect the cross and pile up the mound of stones, marvelled exceedingly at the meaning of these monuments, little thinking that they marked the subjugation of their land.

"The memorable event, here recorded, took place on the 26th of September 1513; so that the Spaniards had been

twenty days performing the journey from the province of Careta to the summit of the mountain, a distance which at present, it is said, does not require more than six days travel. Indeed the isthmus in this neighbourhood is not more than eighteen leagues in breadth in its widest part, and in some places merely seven; but it consists of a ridge of extremely high and rugged mountains. When the discoverers traversed it, they had no route but the Indian paths, and often had to force their way amidst all kinds of obstacles, both from the savage country and its savage inhabitants. In fact, the details of this narrative sufficiently account for the slowness of their progress, and present an array of difficulties and perils, which, as has been well observed, none but those 'men of iron' could have subdued and overcome."*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 184 to 187. Mr. Irving refers to Vidas de Espanoles Célebres, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana. Tom. ii. p. 40.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the voyage of Vasco Nuñez along the coast of the Pacific; the intimation received by him of the great empire of Peru; and his return to Darien on the 19th of January 1514.

From the summit of the mountain, Vasco Nuñez descended with his little band. Coming to the province of a warlike cacique, named Chiapes, a conflict ensued, in which many Indians were made prisoners, and the rest fled. The cacique afterwards brought to the Spaniards five hundred pounds weight of gold as a peace offering; and for it, beads, hawks bells and looking glasses, were given in return.*

"Friendship being thus established between them, Vasco Nuñez remained at the village for a few days, sending back the guides who had accompanied him from Quaraqua, and ordering his people, whom he had left at that place, to rejoin him. In the meantime he sent out three scouting parties, of twelve men each, under Francisco Pizarro, Juan de Escary and Alonzo Martin de Don Benito, to explore the surrounding country and discover the best route to the sea. Alonzo Martin was the most successful. After two days journey, he came to a beach, where he found two large canoes lying high and dry, without any water being in sight. While the Spaniards were regarding these canoes, and wondering why they should be so far on land, the tide, which rises to a great height on that coast, came rapidly in and

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 188, 9.

set them afloat; upon this, Alonzo Martin stepped into one of them, and called his companions to bear witness that he was the first European that embarked upon that sea; his example was followed by one Blas de Etienza, who called them likewise to testify that he was the second."*

The party having returned to report their success, and Vasco Nuñez being rejoined by his men from Quaraqua, he now left the greater part of his followers to repose in the village of Chiapes, and taking with him twenty-six Spaniards, well armed, set out on the 29th of September for the sea coast, accompanied by the cacique and a number of his warriors. Arriving on the border of a vast bay on the day of Saint Michael, he gave to it the name of that saint. The tide being out, the water was then above half a league distant. After a while it came rushing in, and soon reached nearly to the place where the Spaniards had seated themselves. Upon this Vasco Nuñez rose and took a banner, on which were painted the Virgin and child, and under them the arms of Castile and Leon; then drawing his sword and throwing his buckler on his shoulder, he marched into the sea until the water reached above his knees, and waiving his banner, exclaimed with a loud voice :†

"'Long live the high and mighty monarchs Don Ferdinand and Donna Juanna, sovereigns of Castile, of Leon, and of Arragon, in whose name, and for the royal crown of Castile, I take real, and corporal, and actual possession of these seas, and lands, and coasts, and ports, and islands of the south, and all thereunto annexed; and of the kingdoms and provinces which do, or may appertain to them in whatever

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 189. Mr. Irving, for this, refers to Herrera, Hist. Ind. d. i, l. x. c. 2.

† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 190.

manner, or by whatever right or title, ancient or modern, in times past, present, or to come, without any contradiction; and if other prince or captain, Christian or Infidel, or of any law, sect or condition whatsoever, shall pretend any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and prepared to maintain and defend them in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, present and future, whose is the empire and dominion over these Indias, islands and terra firma, northern and southern, with all their seas, both at the arctic and antarctic poles, on either side of the equinoxial line, whether within or without the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, both now and in all times, as long as the world endures, and until the final day of judgment of all mankind.'" *

No one appearing to dispute his pretensions, Vasco Nuñez called upon his companions to bear witness of the fact of his having duly taken possession. They all declared themselves ready to defend his claim; and the notary having drawn up a document for the occasion, they all subscribed it. Then advancing to the margin of the sea, they tasted the water, which, finding to be salt, they felt assured that they had discovered an ocean. The ceremonies were conducted by Vasco Nuñez's cutting a cross on a tree which grew within the water, and making two other crosses on two adjacent trees, in honour of the three constituting the Trinity, and in token of possession; and by his followers cutting crosses on many of the trees of the adjacent forest, and lopping off branches with their swords, to bear away as trophies.†

While he made Chiapes his head quarters, Vasco Nuñez foraged the adjacent country and obtained a considerable quantity of gold. He was intent on exploring by sea the borders of a neighbouring gulf of great extent. The cacique Chiapes warned him of the danger of venturing to sea in that stormy season,

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 191. † Id. p. 191, 2.

but his representations producing no effect, volunteered to take part in the cruise. Accompanied by the cacique, Vasco Nuñez embarked on the 17th of October with sixty of his men, in nine canoes, managed by Indians. The result shewed the wisdom of the cacique's advice. In the heavy and tumultuous sea, it was with difficulty they could keep afloat; towards evening they were enabled to reach a small island. Here they landed and fastened the canoes to the rocks, or to small trees that grew upon the shore. Accustomed to the sea on the northern side of the isthmus, where there is little, if any, rise or fall of the tide, they took no precaution against such an occurrence. In the night they were awakened by the rising of the water. By degrees, rock after rock, and one sand bank after another disappeared, until the sea covered the whole island, and rose almost to the girdles of the Spaniards. Their situation was now agonizing. Fortunately, the tide having reached its height, began to subside. When the day dawned, a sad spectable met their eyes. Some of the canoes were broken to pieces; others yawning open in many parts. The clothing and food left in them, had been washed away. It was necessary to set to work to repair, in the best manner they were able, the damages to the canoes. When they re-embarked, they had again to labour with the sea, while they were suffering excessively from hunger and thirst. At nightfall, they landed in a corner of the gulf, near the abode of a cacique named Tumaco. Driving his men away, they found in the village provisions in abundance, beside a considerable amount of gold and

a great quantity of pearls. Afterwards, a friendly intercourse was established, and presents were exchanged. To a place about ten miles distant, a party of Indians went, by directions of the cacique, and gathered pearls on the shore, for the Spaniards.*

"In reply to the inquiries of Vasco Nuñez, the cacique informed him that the coast which he saw stretching to the west continued onwards without end, and that far to the south there was a country abounding in gold, where the inhabitants made use of certain quadrupeds to carry burthens. He moulded a figure of clay to represent these animals, which some of the Spaniards supposed to be a deer, others a camel, others a tapir, for as yet they knew nothing of the lama, the native beast of burthen of South America. This was the second intimation received by Vasco Nuñez of the great empire of Peru; and, while it confirmed all that had been told him by the son of Comagre, it filled him with glowing anticipations of the glorious triumphs that awaited him."†

"Lest any ceremonial should be wanting to secure this grand discovery to the crown of Spain, Vasco Nuñez determined to sally from the gulf and take possession of the main land beyond."‡

Departing on the 29th of October, in a canoe of state furnished by the cacique Tumaco, Nuñez proceeded along the borders of the gulf to a point where he landed on a beach washed by the ocean, and with buckler on arm, sword in hand, and banner displayed, again marched into the sea and took possession of it, with like ceremonials to those observed in the gulf of St. Michaels. The Indians now pointed to a line of

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 193 to 197. † Id. 197, 8. ‡ Id. 199.

land about four or five leagues distant which they described as a great island, and one of a group abounding with pearls. Being told that these islands were under a tyrannical and powerful cacique who often made descents upon the main land to plunder it and carry the people into captivity, Nuñez assured his allies that on a future occasion he would avenge them upon this tyrant and deliver the coasts from his maraudings. He gave to the principal island the name of Isla Rica, and to the archipelago the appellation of the Pearl islands.*

"On the third of November Vasco Nuñez departed from the province of Tumaco, to visit other parts of the coast. He embarked with his men in the canoes, accompanied by Chiapes and his Indians, and guided by the son of Tumaco, who had become strongly attached to the Spaniards. The young man piloted them along an arm of the sea, wide in some places, but in others obstructed by groves of mangrove trees, which grew within the water and interlaced their branches from shore to shore, so that at times the Spaniards were obliged to cut a passage with their swords.

"At length they entered a great and turbulent river, which they ascended with difficulty, and, early the next morning surprised a village on its banks, making the cacique Teaochan, prisoner; who purchased their favour and kind treatment by a quantity of gold and pearls, and an abundant supply of provisions. As it was the intention of Vasco Nuñez to abandon the shores of the Southern ocean at this place, and to strike across the mountains for Darien, he took leave of Chiapes and of the youthful son of Tumaco, who were to return to their houses in the canoes. He sent at the same time, a message to his men, whom he

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 199, 200.

had left in the village of Chiapes, appointing a place in the mountains where they were to rejoin him on his way back to Darien.

"The talent of Vasco Nuñez for conciliating and winning the good will of the savages is often mentioned, and to such a degree had he exerted it in the present instance, that the two chieftains shed tears at parting. Their conduct had a favourable effect upon the cacique Teaochan; he entertained Vasco Nuñez with the most devoted hospitality during three days that he remained in his village; when about to depart he furnished him with a stock of provisions sufficient for several days, as his route would lay over rocky and sterile mountains. He sent also a numerous band of his subjects to carry the burthens of the Spaniards. These he placed under the command of his son, whom he ordered never to separate from the strangers, nor to permit any of his men to return without the consent of Vasco Nuñez."*

The Spaniards suffered greatly from thirst in the early part of their route to Darien. Coming to the village of a powerful chief named Poncra, famous for his riches, they found in the deserted houses to the value of three thousand crowns in gold. Having searched for Poncra and prevailed upon him and three of his principal subjects to come to Vasco Nuñez, the Spaniards endeavoured to draw from him information of the places whence he had procured his gold.†

"He professed utter ignorance in the matter, declaring that the gold found in his village had been gathered by his predecessors in times long past, and that as he himself set

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 200 to 202. † Id. p. 203, 4.

no value on the metal, he had never troubled himself to seek it. The Spaniards resorted to menaces, and even, it is said, to tortures, to compel him to betray his reputed treasures, but with no better success. Disappointed in their expectations, and enraged at his supposed obstinacy, they listened too readily to charges advanced against him by certain caciques of the neighbourhood, who represented him as a monster of cruelty, and as guilty of crimes repugnant to nature;* whereupon, in the heat of the moment, they gave him and his three companions, who were said to be equally guilty, to be torn in pieces by the dogs: a rash and cruel sentence, given on the evidence of avowed enemies; and which, however it may be palliated by the alleged horror and disgust of the Spaniards at the imputed crimes of the cacique, bears too much the stamp of haste and passion, and remains a foul blot on the character of Vasco Nuñez.

"The Spaniards remained for thirty days reposing in the village of the unfortunate Poncra, during which time they were rejoined by their companions, who had been left behind at the village of Chiapes. They were accompanied by a cacique of the mountains, who had lodged and fed them, and made them presents of the value of two thousand crowns in gold. This hospitable savage approached Vasco Nuñez with a serene countenance, and taking him by the hand, 'Behold,' said he, 'most valiant and powerful chief, I bring thee thy companions safe and well, as they entered under my roof. May he who made the thunder and lightning, and who gives us the fruits of the earth, preserve thee and thine in safety!' So saying, he raised his eyes to the sun, as if he worshipped that as his deity and the dispenser of all temporal blessings.†

* P. Martyr, d. iii. c. 2. † Herrera, d. i. l. x. c. 4.

"Departing from this village, and being still accompanied by the Indians of Teaochan, the Spaniards now bent their course along the banks of the river Comagre, which descends the northern side of the isthmus, and flows through the territories of the cacique of the same name."*

They had soon to abandon this wild stream and wander on without any path, but guided by the Indians. On the way, their sufferings from hunger became intense, and many of their Indian companions perished; having been loaded too heavily with gold and too lightly with provisions. At length they reached a village, where, obtaining supplies, they remained thirty days to recruit their strength. The Spaniards had now to pass through the territories of Tubanama, the potent and warlike chieftain of whom a formidable character had been given by the young Indian prince who first informed Vasco Nuñez of the southern sea.†

"He had erroneously represented the dominions of Tubanama as lying beyond the mountains: and when he dwelt upon the quantities of gold to be found in them, had magnified the dangers that would attend any attempt to pass their borders. The name of this redoubtable cacique was, in fact, a terror throughout the country; and when Vasco Nuñez looked round upon his handful of pale and emaciated followers, he doubted whether even the superiority of their weapons, and their military skill, would enable them to cope with Tubanama and his armies in open contest. He resolved, therefore, to venture upon a perilous stratagem. When he made it known to his men, every

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 204, 5. † Id. p. 205 to 207.

one pressed forward to engage in it. Choosing seventy of the most vigorous, he ordered the rest to maintain their post in the village.

"As soon as night had fallen, he departed silently and secretly with his chosen band, and made his way with such rapidity through the labyrinths of the forests and the defiles of the mountains, that he arrived in the neighbourhood of the residence of Tubanama by the following evening, though at the distance of two regular days journey.

"There waiting until midnight, he assailed the village suddenly, and with success, so as to surprise and capture the cacique and his whole family, in which were eighty females. When Tubanama found himself a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, he lost all presence of mind, and wept bitterly. The Indian allies of Vasco Nuñez beholding their once dreaded enemy thus fallen and captive, now urged that he should be put to death, accusing him of various crimes and cruelties. Vasco Nuñez pretended to listen to their prayers, and gave orders that his captive should be tied hand and foot and given to the dogs. The cacique approached him trembling, and laid his hand upon the pommel of his sword. 'Who can pretend,' said he, 'to strive with one who bears this weapon, which can cleave a man asunder with a blow? Ever since thy fame has reached among these mountains have I reverenced thy valour. Spare my life, and thou shalt have all the gold I can procure.'

"Vasco Nuñez, whose anger was assumed, was readily pacified. As soon as the day dawned, the cacique gave him armlets and other jewels of gold, to the value of three thousand crowns, and sent messengers throughout his dominions, ordering his subjects to aid in paying his ransom. The poor Indians, with their accustomed loyalty, hastened in crowds, bringing their golden ornaments, until in the course of three days they had produced an amount equal

to six thousand crowns. This done, Vasco Nuñez set the cacique at liberty, bestowing on him several European trinkets, with which he considered himself richer than he had been with all his gold. Nothing would draw from him, however, the disclosure of the mines from whence this treasure was procured. He declared that it came from the territories of his neighbours, where gold and pearls were to be found in abundance; but that his lands produced nothing of the kind. Vasco Nuñez doubted his sincerity, and secretly caused the brooks and rivers in his dominions to be searched, where gold was found in such quantities, that he determined, at a future time, to found two settlements in the neighbourhood.

"On parting with Tubanama, the cacique sent his son with the Spaniards, to learn their language and religion. It is said, also, that the Spaniards carried off his eighty women; but of this particular fact, Oviedo, who writes with the papers of Vasco Nuñez before him, says nothing. He affirms, generally, however, that the Spaniards, throughout this expedition, were not scrupulous in their dealings with the wives and daughters of the Indians; and adds, that in this their commander set them the example.*

"Having returned to the village, where he had left the greater part of his men, Vasco Nuñez resumed his homeward march. His people were feeble and exhausted, and several of them sick; so that some had to be carried and others led by the arms. He himself was part of the time afflicted by a fever, and had to be borne in a hammock on the shoulders of the Indians.

"Proceeding thus slowly and toilfully, they at length arrived on the northern sea coast, at the territories of their ally, Comagre. The old cacique was dead, and had been succeeded by his son, the same intelligent youth who had first given information of the southern sea and the king-

* Oviedo, Hist. Gen. part ii. c. 4. MS.

dom of Peru. The young chief, who had embraced Christianity, received them with great hospitality, making them presents of gold. Vasco Nuñez gave him trinkets in return, and a shirt and a soldier's cloak; with which, says Peter Martyr, he thought himself half a god among his naked countrymen. After having reposed for a few days, Vasco Nuñez proceeded to Poncra, where he heard that a ship and caravel had arrived at Darien from Hispaniola, with reinforcements and supplies. Hastening, therefore, to Coyba, the territories of his ally, Careta, he embarked on the 18th of January 1514, with twenty of his men, in the brigantine which he had left there, and arrived at Santa Maria de la Antigua, in the river of Darien, on the following day. All the inhabitants came forth to receive him; and when they heard the news of the great southern sea, and of his returning from its shores laden with pearls and gold, there were no bounds to their joy. He immediately dispatched the ship and caravel to Coyba for the companions he had left behind, who brought with them the remaining booty, consisting of gold and pearls, mantles, hammocks, and other articles of cotton, and a great number of captives of both sexes. A fifth of the spoil was set apart for the crown; the rest was shared, in just proportions, among those who had been in the expedition, and those who had remained at Darien. All were contented with their allotment, and elated with the prospect of still greater gain from future enterprises.

"Thus ended one of the most remarkable expeditions of the early discoverers. The intrepidity of Vasco Nuñez in penetrating, with a handful of men, far into the interior of a wild and mountainous country, peopled by warlike tribes: his skill in managing his band of rough adventurers, stimulating their valour, enforcing their obedience, and attaching their affections, show him to have possessed great qualities as a general. We are told that he was always

foremost in peril, and the last to quit the field. He shared the toils and dangers of the meanest of his followers, treating them with frank affability; watching, fighting, fasting, and labouring with them; visiting and consoling such as were sick or infirm, and dividing all his gains with fairness and liberality. He was chargeable at times with acts of bloodshed and injustice, but it is probable that these were often called for as measures of safety and precaution; he certainly offended less against humanity than most of the early discoverers; and the unbounded amity and confidence reposed in him by the natives, when they became intimately acquainted with his character, speak strongly in favour of his kind treatment of them.

"The character of Vasco Nuñez had, in fact, risen with his circumstances, and now assumed a nobleness and grandeur from the discovery he had made, and the important charge it had devolved upon him. He no longer felt himself a mere soldier of fortune, at the head of a band of adventurers, but a great commander conducting an immortal enterprise. 'Behold,' says old Peter Martyr, 'Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, at once transformed from a rash royster to a politic and discreet captain;' and thus it is that men are often made by their fortunes, that is to say, their latent qualities are brought out, and shaped and strengthened by events, and by the necessity of every exertion to cope with the greatness of their destiny."*

"Vasco Nuñez de Balboa now flattered himself that he had made a discovery calculated to silence all his enemies at court, and to elevate him to the highest favour with his sovereign. He wrote letters to the king, giving a detail of his expedition, and setting forth all that he had seen or heard of this southern sea, and of the rich countries upon its borders. Beside the royal fifths of the profits of the expedition, he prepared a present for the sovereign, in the

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 207 to 211.

name of himself and his companions, consisting of the largest and most precious pearls they had collected. As a trusty and intelligent envoy to bear these tidings, he chose Pedro de Arbolancha, an old and tried friend, who had accompanied him in his toils and dangers, and was well acquainted with all his transactions."*

"Unfortunately, the ship which was to convey the messenger to Spain, lingered in port until the beginning of March; a delay which had a fatal influence on the fortunes of Vasco Nuñez."†

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 212. † Id.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the appointment of Don Pedro Arias Davila, commonly called Pedrarias, in 1514 as governor of Darien; the prosperous state of the colony under the management of Nuñez when Pedrarias arrived; the conduct of Pedrarias to Nuñez; the sickness of the colony soon after the arrival of Pedrarias; his unsuccessful expeditions; and the dispatches from Spain in favour of Nuñez.

The complaints made by the Bachelor Enciso, after his arrival in Castile, induced the king to send a new governor to Darien with power to enquire into and remedy all abuses. For this purpose he chose Don Pedro Arias Davila, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a native of Segovia, who had been brought up in the royal household, and had distinguished himself both in the war in Granada and at the taking of Oran and Bugia in Africa. His personal accomplishments were such as would captivate the soldiery: he was called *el Galan*, for his gallant array and courtly demeanor, and *el Justador*, or the Tilter, for his dexterity in jousts and tournaments. Scarcely had this appointment been made, when the commissioners from Darien arrived, communicating the intelligence from the son of Comagre, and asking one thousand men to make the discovery. Ferdinand rewarded the bearers of the intelligence, and resolved to dispatch immediately a powerful armada with twelve hundred men, under the command of Pedrarias to accomplish the enterprise. Many cavaliers offering

themselves as volunteers, the number was extended to fifteen hundred, and eventually upwards of two thousand embarked. Santa Maria de la Antigua was, by royal ordinance, elevated into the metropolitan city of Golden Castile, and a friar named Juan de Quevedo was appointed as bishop, with powers to decide in all cases of conscience. A number of friars was nominated to accompany him, and he was provided with the necessary furniture and vessels for a chapel. Among the regulations made for the good of the colony, it was ordained that no lawyers should be admitted there; it being supposed that at Hispaniola and elsewhere they were detrimental to the welfare of the settlements, by fomenting disputes and litigations. The judicial affairs were to be entirely confided to the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, who was to officiate as alcalde mayor or chief judge. The wife of Don Pedrarias accompanied her husband: she left behind her in Spain a family of four sons and four daughters. Don Pedrarias was instructed to use great indulgence towards the people of Darien who had been the followers of Nicuesa, and to remit the royal tithe of all the gold they might have collected previous to his arrival. Vasco Nuñez was to be deposed from his assumed authority and called to strict account before the alcalde mayor for his treatment of the Bachelor Enciso. The fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, weighed anchor at St. Lucar on the 12th of April 1514.*

It is said by Mr. Irving that the two governors, Ojeda and Nicuesa, whom the king had appointed to

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 213 to 217.

colonize and command at the isthmus of Darien in Terra Firma, having failed in their undertaking, the sovereign in 1514 wrote to Hispaniola permitting the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew, if so inclined, to take charge of settling the coast of Veragua and to govern that country under the admiral Don Diego, conformably to his privileges, but that it was now too late; illness preventing Don Bartholomew from executing the enterprise.*

But a short time elapsed after the departure of the fleet of Pedrarias from Spain, when Pedro Arbolancho arrived. He announced the adventurous and successful expedition of Vasco Nuñez, and laid before the king the pearls and ornaments which he had brought. The tidings of this discovery made all Spain resound with the praises of Vasco Nuñez: from being considered a lawless and desperate adventurer, he was lauded to the skies as a worthy successor to Columbus.†

"While honours and rewards were preparing in Europe for Vasco Nuñez, that indefatigable commander, inspired by his fortunes, with redoubled zeal and loftier ambition, was exercising the paternal forethought and discretion of a patriotic governor over the country subjected to his rule. His most strenuous exertions were directed to bring the neighbourhood of Darien into such a state of cultivation as might render the settlement independent of Europe for supplies. The town was situated on the banks of a river, and contained upwards of two hundred houses and cabins. Its population amounted to five hundred and fifteen Europeans,

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 219, Appendix No. 2.
† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 217, 18.

all men, and fifteen hundred Indians, male and female. Orchards and gardens had been laid out, where European, as well as native fruits and vegetables were cultivated, and already gave promise of future abundance. Vasco Nuñez devised all kinds of means to keep up the spirits of his people. On holidays they had their favourite national sports and games, and particularly tilting matches, of which chivalrous amusement the Spaniards, in those days, were extravagantly fond. Sometimes he gratified their restless and roving habits, by sending them in expeditions to various parts of the country, to acquire a knowledge of its resources, and to strengthen his sway over the natives. He was so successful in securing the amity or exciting the awe of the Indian tribes, that a Spaniard might go singly about the land in perfect safety; while his own followers were zealous in their devotion to him, both from admiration of his past exploits, and from hopes of soon being led by him to new discoveries and conquests. Peter Martyr, in his letter to Leo the Tenth, speaks in high terms of these 'old soldiers of Darien,' the remnants of those well-tried adventurers who had followed the fortunes of Ojeda, Nicuesa and Vasco Nuñez. 'They were hardened,' says he, 'to abide all sorrows, and were exceedingly tolerant of labour, heat, hunger and watching, insomuch that they merrily make their boast that they have observed a longer and sharper Lent than ever your Holiness enjoined, since, for the space of four years, their food has been herbs and fruits, with now and then fish, and very seldom flesh.'*

"Such were the hardy and well seasoned veterans that were under the sway of Vasco Nuñez; and the colony gave signs of rising in prosperity, under his active and fostering management, when, in the month of June, the fleet of Don Pedrarias Davila arrived in the gulf of Uraba.

*P. Martyr, decad. 3, c. iii. Lok's translation.

"The Spanish cavaliers who accompanied the new governor, were eager to get on shore, and to behold the anticipated wonders of the land; but Pedrarias, knowing the resolute character of Vasco Nuñez, and the devotion of his followers, apprehended some difficulty in getting possession of the colony. Anchoring, therefore, about a league and a half from the settlement, he sent a messenger on shore to announce his arrival. The envoy, having heard so much in Spain of the prowess and exploits of Vasco Nuñez and the riches of Golden Castile, expected, no doubt, to find a blustering warrior, maintaining barbaric state in the government which he had usurped. Great was his astonishment, therefore, to find this redoubtable hero a plain, unassuming man, clad in a cotton frock and drawers, and hempen sandals, directing and aiding the labour of several Indians who were thatching a cottage in which he resided.

"The messenger approached him respectfully, and announced the arrival of Don Pedrarias Davila as governor of the country.

"Whatever Vasco Nuñez may have felt at this intelligence, he suppressed his emotions, and answered the messenger with great discretion; 'Tell Don Pedrarias Davila,' said he, 'that he is welcome, that I congratulate him on his safe arrival, and am ready, with all who are here, to obey his orders.'

"The little community of rough and daring adventurers was immediately in an uproar when they found a new governor had arrived. Some of the most zealous adherents of Vasco Nuñez were disposed to sally forth, sword in hand, and repel the intruder; but they were restrained by their more considerate chieftain, who prepared to receive the new governor with all due submission.

"Pedrarias disembarked on the 30th of June, accompanied by his heroic wife Doña Isabella, who, according to old Peter Martyr, had sustained the roarings and rages of

the ocean with no less stout courage than either her husband or even the mariners who had been brought up among the surges of the sea.

"Pedrarias set out for the embryo city, at the head of two thousand men, all well armed. He led his wife by the hand, and on the other side of him was the Bishop of Darien, in his robes; while a brilliant train of youthful cavaliers, in glittering armour and brocade, formed a kind of body guard.

"All this pomp and splendour formed a striking contrast with the humble state of Vasco Nuñez, who came forth unarmed, in simple attire, accompanied by his councillors and a handful of the 'old soldiers of Darien,' scarred and battered, and grown half wild in Indian warfare, but without weapons, and in garments much the worse for wear.

"Vasco Nuñez saluted Don Pedrarias Davila with profound reverence, and promised him implicit obedience, both in his own name and in the name of the community. Having entered the town, he conducted his distinguished guests to his straw-thatched habitation, where he had caused a repast to be prepared of such cheer as his means afforded, consisting of roots and fruits, maize and casava bread, with no other beverage than water from the river; a sorry palace and a meagre banquet in the eyes of the gay cavaliers, who had anticipated far other things from the usurper of Golden Castile. Vasco Nuñez, however, acquitted himself in his humble wigwam with the courtesy and hospitality of a prince, and showed that the dignity of an entertainment depends more upon the giver than the feast. In the meantime a plentiful supply of European provisions was landed from the fleet, and a temporary abundance was diffused through the colony."*

"On the day after his entrance into Darien, Don Pedrarias held a private conference with Vasco Nuñez in presence

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 219 to 222.

of the historian Oviedo, who had come out from Spain as the public notary of the colony. The governor commenced by assuring him that he was instructed by the king to treat him with great favour and distinction, to consult him about the affairs of the colony, and to apply to him for information relative to the surrounding country. At the same time he professed the most amicable feelings on his own part, and an intention to be guided by his counsels in all public measures.

"Vasco Nuñez was of a frank, confiding nature, and was so captivated by this unexpected courtesy and kindness, that he threw off all caution and reserve, and opened his whole soul to the politic courtier. Pedrarias availed himself of this communicative mood to draw from him a minute and able statement in writing, detailing the circumstances of the colony, and the information collected respecting various parts of the country; the route by which he had traversed the mountains; his discovery of the South sea; the situation and reputed wealth of the Pearl islands; the rivers and ravines most productive of gold; together with the names and territories of the various caciques with whom he had made treaties.

"When Pedrarias had thus beguiled the unsuspecting soldier of all the information necessary for his purposes, he dropped the mask, and within a few days proclaimed a judicial scrutiny into the conduct of Vasco Nuñez and his officers. It was to be conducted by the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, who had come out as alcalde mayor, or chief judge. The Licentiate was an inexperienced lawyer, having but recently left the University of Salamanca. He appears to have been somewhat flexible in his opinions, and prone to be guided or governed by others. At the outset of his career he was much under the influence of Quevedo, the Bishop of Darien. Now, as Vasco Nuñez knew the importance of this prelate in the colony, he had taken care to

secure him to his interests by paying him the most profound deference and respect, and by giving him a share in his agricultural enterprises and his schemes of traffic. In fact, the good bishop looked upon him as one eminently calculated to promote his temporal prosperity, to which he was by no means insensible. Under the influence of the prelate, therefore, the alcalde commenced his investigation in the most favourable manner. He went largely into an examination of the discoveries of Vasco Nuñez, and of the nature and extent of his various services. The governor was alarmed at the course which the inquiry was taking. If thus conducted, it would but serve to illustrate the merits and elevate the reputation of the man whom it was his interest and intent to ruin. To counteract it he immediately set on foot a secret and invidious course of interrogatories of the followers of Nicuesa and Ojeda, to draw from them testimony which might support the charges against Vasco Nuñez of usurpation and tyrannical abuse of power. The bishop and the alcalde received information of this inquisition, carried on thus secretly, and without their sanction. They remonstrated warmly against it, as an infringement of their rights, being coadjutors in the government; and they spurned the testimony of the followers of Ojeda and Nicuesa, as being dictated and discoloured by ancient enmity. Vasco Nuñez was therefore acquitted by them of the criminal charges made against him, though he remained involved in difficulties from the suits brought against him by individuals, for losses and damages occasioned by his measures.

"Pedrarias was incensed at this acquittal, and insisted upon the guilt of Vasco Nuñez, which he pretended to have established to his conviction by his secret investigations; and he even determined to send him in chains to Spain, to be tried for the death of Nicuesa, and for other imputed offences.

"It was not the inclination or the interest of the bishop that Vasco Nuñez should leave the colony; he therefore managed to awaken the jealous apprehensions of the governor as to the effect of his proposed measure. He intimated that the arrival of Vasco Nuñez in Spain would be signalized by triumph rather than disgrace. By that time his grand discoveries would be blazoned to the world, and would atone for all his faults. He would be received with enthusiasm by the nation, with favour by the king, and would probably be sent back to the colony clothed with new dignity and power.

"Pedrarias was placed in a perplexing dilemma by these suggestions; his violent proceedings against Vasco Nuñez were also in some measure restrained by the influence of his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, who felt a great respect and sympathy for the discoverer. In his perplexity, the wily governor adopted a middle course. He resolved to detain Vasco Nuñez at Darien under a cloud of imputation, which would gradually impair his popularity; while his patience and means would be silently consumed by protracted and expensive litigation. In the meantime, however, the property which had been sequestrated was restored to him.

"While Pedrarias treated Vasco Nuñez with this severity, he failed not to avail himself of the plans of that able commander. The first of these was to establish a line of posts across the mountains between Darien and the South sea. It was his eager desire to execute this before any order should arrive from the king in favour of his predecessor, in order that he might have the credit of having colonized the coast, and Vasco Nuñez, merely that of having discovered and visited it.* Before he could complete these arrangements, however, unlooked-for calamities fell upon the settlement, that for a time interrupted every project,

* Oviedo, Hist. Ind. p. 2, c. 8.

and made every one turn his thoughts merely to his own security."*

Darien was unhealthy. Many of those who had recently arrived were swept off speedily; Pedrarias himself fell sick and was removed, with most of his people, to a healthier spot on the river Corobari; the malady, however, continued to increase. The provisions which had been brought out being partly damaged by the sea, the residue grew scanty, and the people were put on short allowance. The debility thus produced increased the ravages of disease. At length the provisions were exhausted and the horrors of famine ensued. There perished in a month seven hundred of the little army that had embarked with Pedrarias. Unable to remedy the evil, Pedrarias gave permission for his men to flee from it. A ship-load of starving adventurers departed for Cuba, where some of them joined the standard of Diego Velasquez, who was colonizing that island; others made their way back to Spain, where they arrived broken in health, in spirits and in fortune.†

The departure of so many was a temporary relief; and Pedrarias, having recovered from his malady, bestirred himself to send expeditions to forage the country and collect treasure.‡

"These expeditions, however, were entrusted to his own favourites, and partisans; while Vasco Nuñez, the man most competent to carry them into effect, remained idle and neglected. A judicial inquiry, tardily carried on, overshadowed him, and though it substantiated nothing, served to embarrass his actions, to cool his friends, and to give him

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 223 to 226. † Id. p. 227 to 229. ‡ Id. p. 230.

the air of a public delinquent. Indeed, to the other evils of the colony was now added that of excessive litigation, arising out of the disputes concerning the government of Vasco Nuñez, and which increased to such a degree, that according to the report of the Alcalde Espinosa, if the law suits should be divided among the people, at least forty would fall to each man's share.* This too was in a colony into which the government had commanded that no lawyer should be admitted."†

"Wearied and irritated by the check which had been given to his favourite enterprises, and confident of the ultimate approbation of the king, Vasco Nuñez now determined to take his fortunes in his own hands, and to prosecute in secret his grand project of exploring the regions beyond the mountains. For this purpose he privately dispatched one Andres Garabito to Cuba to enlist men, and to make the requisite provisions for an expedition across the isthmus, from Nombre de Dios, and for the founding a colony on the shores of the Southern Ocean, from whence he proposed to extend his discoveries by sea and land.

"While Vasco Nuñez awaited the return of Garabito, he had the mortification of beholding various of his colonizing plans pursued and marred by Pedrarias. Among other enterprises, the governor dispatched his lieutenant-general Juan de Ayora, at the head of four hundred men, to visit the provinces of those caciques with whom Vasco Nuñez had sojourned and made treaties on his expedition to the Southern sea. Ayora partook of the rash and domineering spirit of Pedrarias, and harassed and devastated the countries which he pretended to explore. He was received with amity and confidence by various caciques who had formed treaties with Vasco Nuñez; but he repaid their hospitality with the basest ingratitude, seizing upon their property, taking from them their wives and daughters, and often tor-

* Herrera, decad. 2, l. i. c. 1.
† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 230.

turing them to make them reveal their hidden or supposed treasures. Among those treated with this perfidy, we grieve to enumerate the youthful cacique who first gave Vasco Nuñez information of the sea beyond the mountains.

"The enormities of Ayora and of other captains of Pedrarias produced the usual effect; the natives were roused to desperate resistance; caciques, who had been faithful friends, were converted into furious enemies, and the expedition ended in disappointment and disaster.

"The adherents of Vasco Nuñez did not fail to contrast these disastrous enterprises with those which had been conducted with so much glory and advantage by their favourite commander; and their sneers and reproaches had such an effect upon the jealous and irritable disposition of Pedrarias, that he determined to employ their idol in a service that would be likely to be attended with defeat, and to impair his popularity. None seemed more fitting for the purpose than an exhibition to Dobayba, where he had once already attempted in vain to penetrate, and where so many of his followers had fallen victims to the stratagems and assaults of the natives."*

Vasco Nuñez accepted the enterprise, and had two hundred resolute men given him for the purpose, but his satisfaction was diminished when he found that Luis Carrillo, an officer of Pedrarias, was associated with him. The enterprise proved unsuccessful. The Spaniards, in an unguarded moment, being suddenly surprised and surrounded, one half of them, including Carrillo, were killed or drowned in the river up which they were proceeding. Vasco Nuñez himself was wounded, and had great difficulty in escaping with the residue of his forces.†

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 230 to 232. † Id. p. 233 to 236.

"About this time dispatches arrived from Spain that promised to give a new turn to the fortunes of Vasco Nuñez and to the general affairs of the colony. They were written after the tidings of the discovery of the South sea, and the subjugation of so many important provinces of the isthmus. In a letter addressed to Vasco Nuñez, the king expressed his high sense of his merits and services, and constituted him Adelantado of the South sea, and governor of the provinces of Panama and Coyba, though subordinate to the general command of Pedrarias. A letter was likewise written by the king to Pedrarias, informing him of this appointment, and ordering him to consult Vasco Nuñez on all public affairs of importance. This was a humiliating blow to the pride and consequence of Pedrarias, but he hoped to parry it. In the meantime, as all letters from Spain were first delivered into his hands, he withheld that intended for Vasco Nuñez, until he should determine what course of conduct to adopt. The latter, however, heard of the circumstance, as did his friend the Bishop of Darien. The prelate made loud complaints of this interruption of the royal correspondence, which he denounced, even from the pulpit, as an outrage upon the rights of the subject, and an act of disobedience to the sovereign.

"Upon this the governor called a council of his public officers; and, after imparting the contents of his letter, requested their opinion as to the propriety of investing Vasco Nuñez with the dignities thus granted to him. The alcalde mayor, Espinosa, had left the party of the bishop, and was now devoted to the governor. He insisted, vehemently, that the offices ought in no wise to be given to Vasco Nuñez, until the king should be informed of the result of the inquest, which was still going on against him. In this he was warmly supported by the treasurer and the accountant. The bishop replied, indignantly, that it was presumptuous and disloyal in them to dispute the com-

mands of the king, and to interfere with the rewards conscientiously given by him to a meritorious subject. In this way, he added, they were defeating, by their passions, the grateful intentions of their sovereign. The governor was overawed by the honest warmth of the bishop, and professed to accord with him in opinion. The council lasted until midnight; and it was finally agreed that the titles and dignities should be conferred on Vasco Nuñez on the following day.*

"Pedrarias and his officers reflected, however, that if the jurisdiction implied by these titles, were absolutely vested in Vasco Nuñez, the government of Darien and Castilla del Oro would virtually be reduced to a trifling matter; they resolved, therefore, to adopt a middle course; to grant him the empty titles, but to make him give security not to enter upon the actual government of the territories in question, until Pedrarias should give him permission. The bishop and Vasco Nuñez assented to this arrangement; satisfied, for the present, with securing the titles, and trusting to the course of events to get dominion over the territories.†

"The new honours of Vasco Nuñez were now promulgated to the world, and he was every where addressed by the title of Adelantado. His old friends lifted up their heads with exultation, and new adherents flocked to his standard. Parties began to form for him and for Pedrarias, for it was deemed impossible they could continue long in harmony.

"The jealousy of the governor was excited by these circumstances; and he regarded the newly created Adelantado as a dangerous rival and an insidious foe. Just at this critical juncture, Andres Garabito, the agent of Vasco Nuñez, arrived on the coast in a vessel which he had procured

* Oviedo, part 2, c. 9. MS. Oviedo, the historian, was present at this consultation, and says that he wrote down the opinions given on the occasion, which the parties signed with their proper hands.

† Oviedo, part 2, c. 9. MS.

at Cuba, and had freighted with arms and ammunition, and seventy resolute men, for the secret expedition to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. He anchored six leagues from the harbour, and sent word privately to Vasco Nunez of his arrival.

"Information was immediately carried to Pedrarias, that a mysterious vessel, full of armed men, was hovering on the coast, and holding secret communication with his rival. The suspicious temper of the governor immediately took the alarm. He fancied some treasonable plot against his authority; his passions mingled with his fears; and, in the first burst of his fury, he ordered that Vasco Nuñez should be seized and confined in a wooden cage. The Bishop of Darien interposed in time to prevent an indignity which it might have been impossible to expiate. He prevailed upon the passionate governor, not merely to retract the order respecting the cage, but to examine the whole matter with coolness and deliberation. The result proved that his suspicions had been erroneous; and that the armament had been set on foot without any treasonable intent. Vasco Nuñez was, therefore, set at liberty, after having agreed to certain precautionary conditions; but he remained cast down in spirit and impoverished in fortune, by the harassing measures of Pedrarias."*

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo Y. Valdés, to whom reference is made on page 247, in an extract from the Voyages of the Companions of Columbus, was, it is said, appointed in 1514 inspector of the metals cast at Darien. Becoming discontented with Pedrarias, he gave up this place, we are told, the year following, and went to Saint Domingo, and thence to Spain.†

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 237 to 240.

† Preface of French editor to his History, published at Paris in 1841, in Ternaux's collection.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of several expeditions in 1515 under Pedrarias, one of which was to the Pacific; also of the discovery of the Rio de la Plata.

Pedrarias now set on foot an expedition with sixty men to the South sea, but gave the command to one of his own relations named Gaspar Morales, who was accompanied by Francisco Pizarro. Morales and Pizarro traversed the mountains of the isthmus by a shorter and more expeditious route than that which had been taken by Vasco Nuñez, and arrived on the shores of the South sea, at the territories of a cacique named Tutibra, by whom they were amicably entertained. Their great object was to visit the Pearl islands. The cacique having but four canoes, and they being insufficient to contain the whole party, one half of the men remained at the village of Tutibra under the command of a captain named Penalosa; the residue embarked in the canoes with Morales and Pizarro. They landed on one of the smaller islands, where they had some skirmishing with the natives, and hence made their way to the principal island, called by Nuñez Isla Rica. The cacique gave to the Spaniards a reception worthy of his fame. After being repulsed four times with great slaughter, he sued for peace, and brought as a peace offering a basket curiously wrought, and filled with pearls of great beauty.*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 241, 2.

"The cacique considered himself more than repaid by a present of hatchets, beads, and hawks-bells: and, on the Spaniards smiling at his joy, observed, 'These things I can turn to useful purpose, but of what value are those pearls to me?'

"Finding, however, that these baubles were precious in the eyes of the Spaniards, he took Morales and Pizarro to the summit of a wooden tower, commanding an unbounded prospect. 'Behold, before you,' said he, 'the infinite sea, which extends even beyond the sun-beams. As to these islands which lie to the right and left, they are all subject to my sway. They possess but little gold, but the deep places of the sea around them are full of pearls. Continue to be my friends, and you shall have as many as you desire; for I value your friendship more than pearls, and, as far as in me lies, will never forfeit it.'

"He then pointed to the main land, where it stretched away towards the east, mountain beyond mountain, until the summit of the last faded in the distance, and was scarcely seen above the watery horizon. In that direction, he said, there lay a vast country of inexhaustible riches, inhabited by a mighty nation. He went on to repeat the vague but wonderful rumours which the Spaniards had frequently heard about the great kingdom of Peru. Pizarro listened greedily to his words, and while his eye followed the finger of the cacique, as it ranged along the line of shadowy coast, his daring mind kindled with the thought of seeking this golden empire beyond the waters.*

"Before leaving the island, the two captains impressed the cacique with so great an idea of the power of the king of Castile, that he agreed to become his vassal, and to render him an annual tribute of one hundred pounds weight of pearls.

* Herrera, d. 2, l. i. c. iv. P. Martyr, d. 3, c. x.

"The party having returned in safety to the main land, though to a different place from that where they had embarked, Gaspar Morales sent his relation, Bernardo Morales, with ten men, in quest of Peñalosa and his companions, who had remained in the village of Tutibra.

"Unfortunately for the Spaniards, during the absence of the commanders, this Peñalosa had so exasperated the natives by his misconduct, that a conspiracy had been formed by the caciques along the coast to massacre the whole of the strangers, when the party should return from the islands.

"Bernardo Morales and his companions, on their way in quest of Peñalosa, put up for the night in the village of a cacique named Chuchama, who was one of the conspirators. They were entertained with pretended hospitality. In the dead of the night, however, the house in which they were sleeping was wrapped in flames, and most of them were destroyed. Chuchama then prepared with his confederates to attack the main body of the Spaniards who remained with Morales and Pizarro.

"Fortunately for the latter, there was among the Indians who had accompanied them to the islands a cacique named Chiruca, who was in secret correspondence with the conspirators. Some circumstances in his conduct excited their suspicions; they put him to the torture and drew from him a relation of the massacre of their companions, and of the attack with which they were menaced.

"Morales and Pizarro were at first appalled by the overwhelming danger which surrounded them. Concealing their agitation, however, they compelled Chiruca to send a message to each of the confederate caciques, inviting him to a secret conference, under pretence of giving him important information. The caciques came at the summons: they were thus taken one by one, to the number of eighteen, and put in chains. Just at this juncture Peñalosa ar-

rived with the thirty men who had remained with him at Tutibra. Their arrival was hailed with joy by their comrades, who had given them up for lost. Encouraged by this unexpected reinforcement, the Spaniards now attacked by surprise the main body of confederate Indians, who, being ignorant of the discovery of their plot and capture of their caciques, were awaiting the return of the latter in a state of negligent security.

"Pizarro led the van, and set upon the enemy at day-break with the old Spanish war-cry of Santiago! It was a slaughter rather than a battle, for the Indians were unprepared for resistance. Before sun-rise, seven hundred lay dead upon the field. Returning from the massacre, the commanders doomed the caciques who were in chains to be torn in pieces by the bloodhounds; nor was even Chiruca spared from this sanguinary sentence. Notwithstanding this bloody revenge, the vindictive spirit of the commanders was still unappeased, and they set off to surprise the village of a cacique named Biru, who dwelt on the eastern side of the gulf of St. Michael. He was famed for valour and for cruelty: his dwelling was surrounded by the weapons and other trophies of those whom he had vanquished; and he was said never to give quarter.

"The Spaniards assailed his village before day-break with fire and sword, and made dreadful havoc. Biru escaped from his burning habitation, rallied his people, kept up a galling fight throughout the greater part of that day, and handled the Spaniards so roughly, that, when he drew off at night, they did not venture to pursue him, but returned right gladly from his territory. According to some of the Spanish writers, the kingdom of Peru derived its name from this warlike cacique, through a blunder of the early discoverers; the assertion, however, is believed to be erroneous.

"The Spaniards had pushed their bloody revenge to an extreme, and were now doomed to suffer from the recoil. In the fury of their passions, they had forgotten that they were but a handful of men surrounded by savage nations. Returning wearied and disheartened from the battle with Biru, they were waylaid and assaulted by a host of Indians led on by the son of Chiruca. A javelin from his hand pierced one of the Spaniards through the breast and came out between the shoulders; several others were wounded, and the remainder were harassed by a galling fire kept up from among rocks and bushes.

"Dismayed at the implacable vengeance they had aroused, the Spaniards hastened to abandon these hostile shores and make the best of their way back to Darien. The Indians, however, were not to be appeased by the mere departure of the intruders. They followed them perseveringly for seven days, hanging on their skirts, and harassing them by continual alarms. Morales and Pizarro, seeing the obstinacy of their pursuit, endeavoured to gain a march upon them by stratagem. Making large fires as usual one night about the place of their encampment, they left them burning to deceive the enemy while they made a rapid retreat. Among their number was one poor fellow named Velasquez, who was so grievously wounded that he could not walk. Unable to accompany his countrymen in their flight, and dreading to fall into the merciless hands of the savages, he determined to hang himself, nor could the prayers and even tears of his comrades dissuade him from his purpose.

"The stratagem of the Spaniards, however, was unavailing. Their retreat was perceived, and at day-break, to their dismay, they found themselves surrounded by three squadrons of savages. Unable, in their haggard state, to make head against so many foes, they remained drawn up all day on the defensive, some watching while others re-

posed. At night they lit their fires and again attempted to make a secret retreat. The Indians, however, were as usual on their traces, and wounded several with arrows. Thus pressed and goaded, the Spaniards became desperate, and fought like madmen, rushing upon the very darts of the enemy.

"Morales now resorted to an inhuman and fruitless expedient to retard his pursuers. He caused several Indian prisoners to be slain, hoping that their friends would stop to lament over them; but the sight of their mangled bodies only increased the fury of the savages and the obstinacy of their pursuit.

"For nine days were the Spaniards hunted in this manner about the woods and mountains, the swamps and fens, wandering they knew not whither, and returning upon their steps, until, to their dismay, they found themselves in the very place where, several days previously, they had been surrounded by the three squadrons.

"Many now began to despair of ever escaping with life from this trackless wilderness, thus teeming with deadly foes. It was with difficulty their commanders could rally their spirits, and encourage them to persevere. Entering a thick forest they were again assailed by a band of Indians, but despair and fury gave them strength: they fought like wild beasts rather than like men, and routed the foe with dreadful carnage. They had hoped to gain a breathing time by this victory, but a new distress attended them. They got entangled in one of those deep and dismal marshes which abound on those coasts, and in which the wanderer is often drowned or suffocated. For a whole day they toiled through brake and bramble, and miry fen, with the water reaching to their girdles. At length they extricated themselves from the swamp, and arrived at the sea shore. The tide was out, but was about to return, and on this coast it rises rapidly to a great height. Fearing to be

overwhelmed by the rising surf, they hastened to climb a rock out of reach of the swelling waters. Here they threw themselves on the earth panting with fatigue and abandoned to despair. A savage wilderness filled with still more savage foes, was on one side, on the other the roaring sea. How were they to extricate themselves from these surrounding perils? While reflecting on their desperate situation, they heard the voices of Indians. On looking cautiously round, they beheld four canoes entering a neighbouring creek. A party was immediately dispatched, who came upon the savages by surprise, drove them into the woods, and seized upon the canoes. In these frail barks the Spaniards escaped from their perilous neighbourhood, and, traversing the gulf of St. Michael, landed in a less hostile part, from whence they set out a second time across the mountains.

"It is needless to recount the other hardships they endured, and their further conflicts with the Indians; suffice it to say, after a series of almost incredible sufferings and disasters, they at length arrived in a battered and emaciated condition at Darien. Throughout all their toils and troubles, however, they had managed to preserve a part of the treasure they had gained in the islands; especially the pearls given them by the cacique of Isla Rica. These were objects of universal admiration. One of them was put up at auction, and bought by Pedrarias, and was afterwards presented by his wife Doña Isabella de Bobadilla to the Empress, who, in return, gave her four thousand ducats.*

"Such was the cupidity of the colonists, that the sight of these pearls and the reputed wealth of the islands of the southern sea, and the kingdoms on its borders, made far greater impression on the public mind, than the tale told by

* Herrera, Hist. Ind. d. 2, l. i. c. 4.

the adventurers of all the horrors they had past; and every one was eager to seek these wealthy regions beyond the mountains."*

Other expeditions set on foot by Pedrarias ended badly. One of these was to the province of Zenu. A captain named Francisco Becerra, penetrated into this country at the head of one hundred and eighty men, but neither the commander nor any of his men returned. They were all destroyed by the Indians. Another band was defeated by Tubanama. In fine, the colony became so weakened by these repeated losses, and the savages so emboldened by success, that the latter beleaguered it with their forces, harassed it by assaults and ambuscades, and reduced it to great extremity.†

At this period there was an important expedition in another part of South America; not however by Pedrarias or under his authority. Juan Diaz de Solis discovered a river, the great extent of which made him name it Mar Dulce, or the Sea of Sweet Water. After the visit of Sebastian Cabot, at a later period, it was called the Rio de la Plata. The year of the discovery by Juan Diaz de Solis is variously stated sometimes in 1512, sometimes in 1515 or 1516. In one of these latter years, Juan Diaz de Solis and fifty men were massacred by the Indians near the cape of Santa Maria.‡

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 249. † Id. p. 250, 51.

‡ Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 250, 51. Preface of French Editor to Gandavo's History of the Province of Sancta Cruz.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of Juan Ponce de Leon; his voyage to Guadaloupe in 1515; the visit this year of Diego Columbus to Spain, and the death of Bartholomew Columbus; also, of Sebastian Cabot, from 1515 to 1518.

After the discovery of Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon, he went to Spain, to make report of it to the king.

"The hardy old cavalier experienced much raillery from the witlings of the court, on account of his visionary voyage, though many wise men had been as credulous as himself at the outset. The king, however, received him with great favour, and conferred on him the title of Adelantado of Bimini and Florida, which last was as yet considered an island. Permission was also granted him to recruit men, either in Spain or in the colonies, for a settlement in Florida; but he deferred entering on his command for the present, being probably discouraged and impoverished by the losses in his last expedition, or finding a difficulty in enlisting adventurers. At length another enterprise presented itself. The Caribs had by this time become a terror to the Spanish inhabitants of many of the islands, making descents upon the coasts and carrying off captives, who, it was supposed, were doomed to be devoured by these cannibals. So frequent were their invasions of the island of Porto Rico, that it was feared they would ultimately oblige the Spaniards to abandon it.

"At length King Ferdinand, in 1514, ordered that three ships, well armed and manned, should be fitted out in Se-

ville, destined to scour the islands of the Caribs, and to free the seas from those cannibal marauders. The command of the armada was given to Juan Ponce de Leon, from his knowledge in Indian warfare, and his varied and rough experience which had mingled in him the soldier with the sailor. He was instructed, in the first place, to assail the Caribs of those islands most contiguous and dangerous to Porto Rico, and then to make war on those of the coast of Terra Firma, in the neighbourhood of Carthagena. He was afterwards to take the captaincy of Porto Rico, and to attend to the repartimientos or distributions of the Indians, in conjunction with a person to be appointed by Diego Columbus.

"The enterprise suited the soldier-like spirit of Juan Ponce de Leon, and the gallant old cavalier set sail, full of confidence, in January 1515, and steered direct for the Caribbees, with a determination to give a wholesome castigation to the whole savage archipelago. Arriving at the island of Guadaloupe, he cast anchor, and sent men on shore for wood and water, and women to wash the clothing of the crews, with a party of soldiers to mount guard.

"Juan Ponce had not been as wary as usual, or he had to deal with savages unusually adroit in warfare. While the people were scattered carelessly on shore, the Caribs rushed forth from an ambuscade, killed the greater part of the men, and carried off the women to the mountains.

"This blow, at the very outset of his vaunted expedition, sank deep into the heart of Juan Ponce, and put an end to all his military excitement. Humbled and mortified, he set sail for the island of Porto Rico, where he relinquished all further prosecution of the enterprise, under pretext of ill health, and gave the command of the squadron to a captain named Zuñiga; but it is surmised that his malady was not so much of the flesh as of the spirit. He remained in Porto Rico as governor; but, having grown

testy and irritable, through vexations and disappointments, he gave great offence, and caused much contention on the island, by positive and strong-handed measures, in respect to the distributions of the Indians."*

"Many calumnies having been sent home to Spain by Pasamonte and other enemies of Don Diego Columbus, and various measures being taken by government, which he conceived derogatory to his dignity and injurious to his privileges, he requested and obtained permission to repair to court, that he might explain and vindicate his conduct. He departed, accordingly, on April 9th, 1515, leaving the Adelantado with the vice-queen Doña Maria. He was received with great honour by the king; and he merited such a reception. He had succeeded in every enterprise he had undertaken or directed. The pearl fishery had been successfully established on the coast of Cubagua; the islands of Cuba and of Jamaica had been subjected and brought under cultivation without bloodshed; his conduct as governor had been upright; and he had only excited the representations made against him, by endeavouring to lessen the oppression of the natives. The king ordered that all processes against him in the court of appeal and elsewhere, for damages done to individuals in regulating the repartimientos, should be discontinued, and the cases sent to himself for consideration. But with all these favours, as the admiral claimed a share of the profits of the provinces of Castilla del Oro, saying that it was discovered by his father, as the names of its places, such as Nombre de Dios, Porto Bello and El Retrete, plainly proved, the king ordered that interrogatories should be made among the mariners who had sailed with Christopher Columbus, in the hope of proving that he had not discovered the coast of Darien or the gulf of Uraba. 'Thus,' adds Herrera, 'Don Diego was always involved in litiga-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 319 to 321.

tions with the fiscal, so that he might truly say that he was heir to the troubles of his father.'*

"Not long after the departure of Don Diego from San Domingo, his uncle, Don Bartholomew, ended his active and laborious life. No particulars are given of his death, nor is there mention made of his age, which must have been advanced. King Ferdinand is said to have expressed great concern at the event, for he had a high opinion of the character and talents of the Adelantado: 'a man,' says Herrera, 'of not less worth than his brother, the admiral, and who, if he had been employed, would have given great proofs of it; for he was an excellent seaman, valiant, and of great heart.'† Charlevoix attributes the inaction in which Don Bartholomew had been suffered to remain for several years, to the jealousy and parsimony of the king. He found the house already too powerful; and the Adelantado, had he discovered Mexico, was a man to make as good conditions as had been made by the admiral his brother.‡ It was said, observed Herrera, that the king rather preferred to employ him in his European affairs, though it could only have been to divert him from other objects. On his death the king resumed to himself the island of Mona, which he had given to him for life, and transferred his repartimiento of two hundred Indians to the vice-queen Doña Maria.

"While the Admiral Don Diego was pressing for an audience in his vindication at court, King Ferdinand died on the 23d January 1516. His grandson and successor, Prince Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., was in Flanders."§

At this period Sebastian Cabot was in Spain. "Cabot," says Peter Martyr, "is my very friend

* Herrera, Decad. 2, L. 2, cap. 7.
† Idem. Decad. 1, L. 10, c. 16.
‡ Charlevoix, Hist. St. Doming. L. 5.
§ Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 219, 20, Appendix No. 2.

whom I use familiarly, and delight to have him sometimes keep me company in my own house." An expedition had, in 1515, been appointed to proceed under the command of Cabot the ensuing March, but the death of Ferdinand seems to have put an end to it, and Cabot then went to England.*

About the eighth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, (in 1516 or 1517,) Cabot made a voyage with Sir Thomas Pert, which, Mr. Biddle argues, was in search of a northwest passage.† It has usually been supposed to be to Brazil, Hispaniola and Porto Rico. There is a notice of it in the third volume of Hakluyt,‡ and also in Purchas's Pilgrims.

In 1518, Cabot resumed the office of chief pilot of Spain,§ and again became a resident of Seville.

* Third vol. of Hakluyt, p. 8, 9. Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, p. 100, 101, 102.

† Biddle's Memoir, p. 102.

‡ P. 498.

§ Biddle's Memoir, p. 119.

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the reconciliation between Pedrarias and Vasco Nuñez; a marriage agreed upon between Nuñez and the eldest daughter of Pedrarias, to take place on her arrival from Spain; authority to Nuñez in 1516 to make an expedition to explore the Southern Ocean; his proceedings; the perfidy of Andres Garabito; the hypocrisy of Pedrarias; and his arrest of Nuñez.

"While Pedrarias was harassed and perplexed by these complicated evils, he was haunted by continual apprehensions of the ultimate ascendancy of Vasco Nuñez. He knew him to be beloved by the people, and befriended by the bishop; and he had received proofs that his services were highly appreciated by the king. He knew also that representations had been sent home by him and his partizans, of the evils and abuses of the colony under the present rule, and of the necessity of a more active and efficient governor. He dreaded lest these representations should ultimately succeed; that he should be undermined in the royal favour, and Vasco Nuñez be elevated upon his ruins.

"The politic bishop perceived the uneasy state of the governor's mind, and endeavoured, by means of his apprehensions, to effect that reconciliation which he had sought in vain to produce through more generous motives. He represented to him that his treatment of Vasco Nuñez was odious in the eyes of the people, and must eventually draw on him the displeasure of his sovereign. 'But why persist,' added he, 'in driving a man to become your deadliest enemy, whom you may grapple to your side as your firmest friend? You have several daughters—give him one in

marriage; you will then have for a son-in-law a man of merit and popularity, who is a hidalgo by birth, and a favourite of the king. You are advanced in life and infirm; he is in the prime and vigour of his days, and possessed of great activity. You can make him your lieutenant; and while you repose from your toils, he can carry on the affairs of the colony with spirit and enterprise; and all his achievements will redound to the advancement of your family and the splendour of your administration.'

"The governor and his lady were won by the eloquence of the bishop, and readily listened to his suggestions; and Vasco Nuñez was but too happy to effect a reconciliation on such flattering terms. Written articles were accordingly drawn up and exchanged, contracting a marriage between him and the eldest daughter of Pedrarias. The young lady was then in Spain, but was to be sent for, and the nuptials were to be celebrated on her arrival at Darien.

"Having thus fulfilled his office of peace-maker, and settled, as he supposed, all feuds and jealousies on the sure and permanent foundation of family alliance, the worthy bishop departed shortly afterwards for Spain."*

The governor now authorized Vasco Nuñez to build brigantines and make all the necessary preparations for his long desired expedition to explore the Southern Ocean.†

"The place appointed for these purposes was the port of Careta, situated to the west of Darien; from whence there was supposed to be the most convenient route across the mountains. A town called Acla had been founded at this port; and the fortress was already erected, of which Lope de Olano was alcalde; Vasco Nuñez was now empowered to continue the building of the town. Two hundred men

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 250 to 253. † Id. p. 254.

were placed under his command to aid him in carrying his plans into execution, and a sum of money was advanced to him out of the royal treasury. His supply of funds, however, was not sufficient; but he received assistance from a private source. There was a notary at Darien, named Hernando de Arguello, a man of some consequence in the community, and who had been one of the most furious opponents of the unfortunate Nicuesa. He had amassed considerable property, and now embarked a great part of it in the proposed enterprise, on condition, no doubt, of sharing largely in its anticipated profits."*

After a series of toils and hardships, Vasco Nuñez had the satisfaction of beholding two brigantines constructed and floating on a river called then the Balsas, which flowed into the Pacific. As soon as they could be equipped for sea, he embarked in them with as many Spaniards as they could carry; and issuing forth from the river, launched triumphantly on the great ocean he had discovered. The first cruise of Vasco Nuñez was to the group of Pearl islands, on the principal one of which he disembarked the greater part of his crews. While the brigantines went back to bring off the remainder, he ranged the islands with his men to collect provisions and establish a complete sway over the natives. On the return of his vessels, and while preparations were making for the building of others, he embarked with a hundred men, and passed on a reconnoitering cruise about twenty leagues beyond the gulf of San Miguel. It was his purpose to go towards the region pointed out by the Indians as abounding in riches, but the wind being

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 254, 5.

contrary he had to alter his course: thus a cruise was abandoned which, if it could have been persevered in, might have terminated in the discovery of Peru. Steering for the main land, he anchored on that part of the coast governed by the cacique Chuchama, who had massacred Bernardo Morales and his companions. Nuñez coming suddenly upon the dwelling of the cacique, the Indians sallied forth to defend their homes, but were routed with great loss. Nuñez then re-embarked and returned to Isla Rica. While occupied here in completing the building of his brigantines, a rumour reached him that a new governor named Lope de Sosa was coming out from Spain to supersede Pedrarias. Upon a consultation between Nuñez and several of his confidential officers, it was agreed that a trusty person should be sent to Acla under pretence of procuring munitions for the ships. Should he find Pedrarias in quiet possession of the government, he was to account to him for the delay of the expedition; to request that the time allotted to it might be extended, and ask for reinforcements and supplies. Should he find however that a new governor was actually arrived, he was to return immediately with the tidings.*

"The person entrusted with the reconnoitering expedition to Acla, was Andres Garabito, in whose fidelity and discretion, Vasco Nuñez had implicit confidence. His confidence was destined to be fatally deceived. According to the assertions of contemporaries, this Garabito cherished a secret and vindictive enmity against his commander, ari-

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 255 to 261.

sing from a simple but a natural cause. Vasco Nuñez had continued to have a fondness for the Indian damsel, daughter of the cacique Careta, whom he had received from her father as a pledge of amity. Some dispute arose concerning her on one occasion between him and Garabito, in the course of which he expressed himself in severe and galling language. Garabito was deeply mortified at some of his expressions, and, being of a malignant spirit, determined on a dastardly revenge. He wrote privately to Pedrarias, assuring him that Vasco Nuñez had no intention of solemnizing his marriage with his daughter, being completely under the influence of an Indian paramour; that he made use of the friendship of Pedrarias merely to further his own selfish views, intending, as soon as his ships were ready, to throw off all allegiance, and to put to sea as an independent commander.

"This mischievous letter, Garabito had written immediately after the last departure of Vasco Nuñez from Acla. Its effects upon the proud and jealous spirit of the governor may easily be conceived. All his former suspicions were immediately revived. They acquired strength during a long interval that elapsed without tidings being received from the expedition. There were designing and prejudiced persons at hand, who perceived and quickened these jealous feelings of the governor. Among these was the Bachelor Corral, who cherished a deep grudge against Vasco Nuñez for having once thrown him into prison for his factious conduct; and Alonzo de la Puente, the royal treasurer, whom Vasco Nuñez had affronted by demanding the repayment of a loan. Such was the tempest that was gradually gathering in the factious little colony of Darien.

"The subsequent conduct of Garabito gives much confirmation to the charge of perfidy that has been advanced against him. When he arrived at Acla, he found that Pedrarias remained in possession of the government; for his

intended successor had died in the very harbour. The conduct and conversation of Garabito was such as to arouse suspicions; he was arrested, and his papers and letters were sent to Pedrarias. When examined, he readily suffered himself to be wrought upon by threats of punishment and promises of pardon, and revealed all that he knew, and declared still more that he suspected and surmised, of the plans and intentions of Vasco Nuñez.

"The arrest of Garabito, and the seizure of his letters, produced a great agitation at Darien. It was considered a revival of the ancient animosity between the governor and Vasco Nuñez, and the friends of the latter trembled for his safety.

"Hernando de Arguello, especially, was in great alarm. He had embarked the most of his fortune in the expedition, and the failure of it would be ruinous to him. He wrote to Vasco Nuñez, informing him of the critical posture of affairs, and urging him to put to sea without delay. He would be protected at all events, he said, by the Jeronimite Fathers at San Domingo, who were at that time all-powerful in the new world, and who regarded his expedition as calculated to promote the glory of God as well as the dominion of the king.* This letter fell into the hands of Pedrarias, and convinced him of the existence of a dangerous plot against his authority. He immediately ordered Arguello to be arrested; and now devised means to get Vasco Nuñez within his power. While the latter remained on the shores of the South Sea with his brigantines and his

*In consequence of the eloquent representations made to the Spanish government by the venerable Las Casas, of the cruel wrongs and oppressions practised upon the Indians in the colonies, the Cardinal Ximenes, in 1516, sent out three Jeronimite Friars, chosen for their zeal and abilities, clothed with full powers to inquire into and remedy all abuses, and to take all proper measures for the good government, religious instruction, and effectual protection of the natives. The exercise of their powers at San Domingo made a great sensation in the new world, and, for a time, had a beneficial effect in checking the oppressive and licentious conduct of the colonists.

band of hearty and devoted followers, Pedrarias knew that it would be in vain to attempt to take him by force. Dissembling his suspicions and intentions, therefore, he wrote to him in the most amicable terms, requesting him to repair immediately to Acla, as he wished to hold a conference with him about the impending expedition. Fearing, however, that Vasco Nuñez might suspect his motives and refuse to comply, he at the same time ordered Francisco Pizarro to muster all the armed force he could collect, and to seek and arrest his late patron and commander wherever he might be found.

"So great was the terror inspired by the arrest of Arguello, and by the general violence of Pedrarias, that, though Vasco Nuñez was a favourite with the great mass of the people, no one ventured to warn him of the danger that attended his return to Acla."*

When Vasco Nuñez received the hypocritical letter of Pedrarias inviting him to an interview at Acla, it awakened no suspicion in his breast. Leaving his ships in command of Francisco Compañon, he departed immediately to meet the governor at Acla, unattended by any armed force.†

"The messengers who had brought the letter maintained at first a cautious silence as to the events which had transpired at Darien. They were gradually won, however, by the frank and genial manners of Vasco Nuñez, and grieved to see so gallant a soldier hurrying into the snare. Having crossed the mountains and drawn near to Acla, their kind feelings got the better of their caution, and they revealed the true nature of their errand, and the hostile intentions of Pedrarias. Vasco Nuñez was struck with astonishment at the recital; but, being unconscious, it is said, of any evil

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 262 to 265. † Id. 266, 7.

intention, he could scarcely credit this sudden hostility in a man who had but recently promised him his daughter in marriage. He imagined the whole to be some groundless jealousy which his own appearance would dispel, and accordingly continued on his journey. He had not proceeded far, however, when he was met by a band of armed men, led by Francisco Pizarro. The latter stepped forward to arrest his ancient commander. Vasco Nuñez paused for a moment, and regarded him with a look of reproachful astonishment. 'How is this, Francisco,' exclaimed he. 'Is this the way you have been accustomed to receive me?' Offering no further remonstrance, he suffered himself quietly to be taken prisoner by his former adherent, and conducted in chains to Acla. Here he was thrown into prison, and Bartolome Hurtado, once his favourite officer, was sent to take command of his squadron."*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 267, 8.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the trial and execution in 1517 of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean.

"Don Pedrarias concealed his exultation at the success of the stratagem by which he had ensnared his generous and confiding rival. He even visited him in prison, and pretended deep concern at being obliged to treat him with this temporary rigour, attributing it entirely to certain accusations lodged against him by the treasurer Alonzo de la Puente, which his official situation compelled him to notice and investigate.

'Be not afflicted, however, my son!' said the hypocrite, 'an investigation will, doubtless, not merely establish your innocence, but serve to render your zeal and loyalty towards your sovereign still more conspicuous.'

"While Pedrarias assumed this soothing tone towards his prisoner, he urged the Alcalde Mayor Espinosa to proceed against him with the utmost rigour of the law.

"The charge brought against him of a treasonable conspiracy to cast off all allegiance to the crown, and to assume an independent sway on the borders of the southern sea, was principally supported by the confessions of Andres Garabito. The evidence is also cited of a soldier, who stood sentinel one night near the quarters of Vasco Nuñez, on Isla Rica, and who, being driven to take shelter from the rain under the eaves of the house, overheard a conversation between that commander and certain of his officers, wherein they agreed to put to sea with the squadron on their own account, and to set the governor at defiance. This testi-

mony, according to Las Casas, arose from a misconstruction on the part of the sentinel, who only heard a portion of their conversation, relating to their intention of sailing, without waiting for orders, in case a new governor should arrive to supersede Pedrarias.

"The governor in the meantime informed himself from day to day and hour to hour, of the progress of the trial, and, considering the evidence sufficiently strong to warrant his personal hostility, he now paid another visit to his prisoner, and, throwing off all affectation of kindness, upbraided him in the most passionate manner.

"'Hitherto,' said he, 'I have treated you as a son, because I thought you loyal to your king, and to me as his representative; but as I find you have meditated rebellion against the crown of Castile, I cast you off from my affections, and shall henceforth treat you as an enemy.'

"Vasco Nuñez indignantly repelled the charge, and appealed to the confiding frankness of his conduct as a proof of innocence. 'Had I been conscious of my guilt,' said he, 'what could have induced me to come here and put myself into your hands? Had I meditated rebellion, what prevented me from carrying it into effect? I had four ships ready to weigh anchor, three hundred brave men at my command, and an open sea before me. What had I to do but to spread sail and press forward? There was no doubt of finding a land, whether rich or poor, sufficient for me and mine, far beyond the reach of your control. In the innocence of my heart, however, I came here promptly, at your mere request, and my reward is slander, indignity and chains!'

"The noble and ingenuous appeal of Vasco Nuñez had no effect on the prejudiced feelings of the governor; on the contrary, he was but the more exasperated against his prisoner, and ordered that his irons should be doubled.

"The trial was now urged by him with increased eagerness. Lest the present accusation should not be sufficient to effect the ruin of his victim, the old inquest into his conduct as governor, which had remained suspended for many years, was revived, and he was charged anew with the wrongs inflicted on the Bachelor Enciso, and with the death of the unfortunate Nicuesa.

"Notwithstanding all these charges, the trial went on slowly, with frequent delays; for the alcalde mayor, Gaspar de Espinosa, seems to have had but little relish for the task assigned him, and to have needed frequent spurring from the eager and passionate governor. He probably considered the accused as technically guilty, though innocent of all intentional rebellion, but was ordered to decide according to the strict letter of the law. He therefore at length gave a reluctant verdict against Vasco Nuñez, but recommended him to mercy, on account of his great services, or entreated that, at least, he might be permitted to appeal. 'No!' said the unrelenting Pedrarias, 'if he has merited death, let him suffer death!' He accordingly condemned him to be beheaded. The same sentence was passed upon several of his officers, who were implicated in his alleged conspiracy; among these was Hernando de Arguello, who had written the letter to Vasco Nuñez, informing him of the arrest of his messenger, and advising him to put to sea, without heeding the hostility of Pedrarias. As to the perfidious informer Garabito, he was pardoned and set at liberty."*

"It was a day of gloom and horror at Acla, when Vasco Nuñez and his companions were led forth to execution. The populace were moved to tears at the unhappy fate of a man, whose gallant deeds had excited their admiration, and whose generous qualities had won their hearts. Most of them regarded him as the victim of a jealous tyrant;

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 269 to 272.

and even those who thought him guilty, saw something brave and brilliant in the very crime imputed to him. Such, however, was the general dread inspired by the severe measures of Pedrarias, that no one dared to lift up his voice, either in murmur or remonstrance.

"The public crier walked before Vasco Nuñez, proclaiming, 'This is the punishment inflicted by command of the king and his lieutenant, Don Pedrarias Davila, on this man, as a traitor and an usurper of the territories of the crown.'

"When Vasco Nuñez heard these words, he exclaimed indignantly, 'It is false! never did such a crime enter my mind. I have ever served my king with truth and loyalty, and sought to augment his dominions.'

"These words were of no avail in his extremity, but they were fully believed by the populace.

"The execution took place in the public square of Acla; and we are assured by the historian Oviedo, who was in the colony at the time, that the cruel Pedrarias was a secret witness of the bloody spectacle, which he contemplated from between the reeds of the wall of a house, about twelve paces from the scaffold!*

"Vasco Nuñez was the first to suffer death. Having confessed himself and partaken of the sacrament, he ascended the scaffold with a firm step and a calm and manly demeanour; and laying his head upon the block, it was severed in an instant from his body. Three of his officers, Valderrabano, Botello, and Hernan Muños, were in like manner brought one by one to the block, and the day had nearly expired before the last of them was executed.

"One victim still remained. It was Hernando de Arguello, who had been condemned as an accomplice, for having written the intercepted letter.

"The populace could no longer restrain their feelings. They had not dared to intercede for Vasco Nuñez, knowing

* Oviedo, Hist. Ind. p. 2, c. 9, MS.

the implacable enmity of Pedrarias; but they now sought the governor, and throwing themselves at his feet, entreated that this man might be spared, as he had taken no active part in the alleged treason. The daylight, they said, was at an end, and it seemed as if God had hastened the night, to prevent the execution.

"The stern heart of Pedrarias was not to be touched. 'No,' said he, 'I would sooner die myself than spare one of them.' The unfortunate Arguello was led to the block. The brief tropical twilight was past, and in the gathering gloom of the night the operations on the scaffold could not be distinguished. The multitude stood listening in breathless silence, until the stroke of the executioner told that all was accomplished. They then dispersed to their homes with hearts filled with grief and bitterness, and a night of lamentation succeeded to this day of horrors.

"The vengeance of Pedrarias was not satisfied with the death of his victim; he confiscated his property and dishonoured his remains, causing his head to be placed upon a pole and exposed for several days in the public square.*

"Thus perished, in his forty-second year, in the prime and vigour of his days and the full career of his glory, one of the most illustrious and deserving of the Spanish discoverers—a victim to the basest and most perfidious envy."†

From the statement of the French editor referred to on page 255, it might be inferred that Oviedo left Darien in 1515. Mr. Irving, it will be perceived, speaks of him as in the colony when Nuñez was executed. Supposing this to be so, it must have been 1517 before he went to Saint Domingo and thence to Spain.

* Oviedo, ubi sup. † Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 275, 6.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the voyage of Juan de Ampies to Coriana in 1517; and the building of the town of Coro; also of Oviedo, the celebrated historian.

Pedro Alonzo Niño, in the voyage mentioned in the tenth chapter, coasted to an Indian village named Coriana. When famine and bad treatment had destroyed the greatest part of the population of Hayti, and they began to be in want of slaves to work in the mines, vessels from that isle went to different parts of Terra Firma and took all the Indians they could, and carried them to be sold at Saint Domingo. There these unhappy beings perished by thousands. At length the abuse became so great, that the authorities of Saint Domingo sent into the province in which Coriana was Juan de Ampies, as governor, to found an establishment there and protect the natives. Ampies set out with a vessel and sixty men: he disembarked at Coriana in 1517, and formed an alliance with Mannaure, the principal cacique of the Caquetios, who inhabited this province; an alliance so respected by the Indians, says Father Simon, that notwithstanding the bad treatment and cruelties of the Spaniards, they could not bring themselves to break it. In the place of Coriana, Ampies built a town named Coro, which was soon peopled by a great number of Spanish adventurers, drawn from all quarters by the rumor of the riches of this country.

In 1519, under the emperor's orders Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo returned to America to take part in the confiscations of the property of Vasco Nuñez, which amounted to a large sum. He arrived the 24th of June 1520, at the port of Darien. After losing here his wife and a son, he went to Panama to join Pedrarias, who afterwards made him governor of Darien. He returned to Spain in 1523. It was about this time that he published the first edition of his History of Nicaragua. In 1526, Oviedo set out again for America. He joined at Nicaragua Pedro Lopes de Salcedo, and became governor of Carthagena. In 1535, he was alcaid of Saint Domingo, and historiographer of the Indias. He died in 1557 at Valladolid, at the age of 69 years.

This chapter is taken from the preface to his History of Nicaragua, and from the preface to a volume entitled "Belle et agréable narration du premier voyage de Nicolas Federmann le Jeune, d' Ulm aux indes de la mer Oceane et de tont cequi lui est arrivé dans a pays jusqu'a son retour en espagne écrite brièvement, et divertissante a lire." Both volumes have been republished at Paris, by Henri Ternaux, in his collection of voyages, relations and memoirs; the prefaces of the French editor are those from which this chapter is taken.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the discovery of Yucatan by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova in 1517; the voyage thither of Juan de Grijalva in 1518; the rescue there in 1519, by Hernando Cortez of Jeronimo de Aguilar, one of the companions of Valdivia, whose vessel was stranded on that coast several years before; and the famous voyage of Magellan.

Several years had elapsed in the manner mentioned in chapter twenty-fourth, when in 1517 intelligence was brought to the province where Aguilar was, of the arrival on the neighbouring coast of great vessels of wonderful construction, filled with white and bearded men. It was in fact the squadron of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova. Yucatan was discovered this year by him, and by the pilot Juan Alaminos, a native of Palos, who had accompanied Columbus in his fourth voyage. Cordova was for some time along the coast of Yucatan, and lost many men in his different rencontres with the natives. The heart of Jeronimo de Aguilar beat quick with hope when he heard of European ships at hand. He was distant from the coast however, and was too closely watched by the Indians to have any chance of escape. After Cordova left this coast, he was driven by a storm upon the shore of Florida: thence he returned to Cuba, where he died ten days after his arrival.*

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 283. "Recueil de pièces relatives a la conquête du Mexique." See note at the end of next paragraph.

A new expedition was determined on. Diégo Velasquez chose to command it Juan de Grijalva, a native of Cuellar, who had distinguished himself in several expeditions against the Indians of Cuba. On the first of March 1518,* his fleet set out from Cuba. He saw on the 4th houses on a promontory, and gave to this land the name of Saint Croix. The next day he reconnoitered the coast of Yucatan and the isle of Cuzamil. In the account of this voyage it is mentioned that some Indians, among whom was the chief of their village, approaching the vessels, the Spaniards asked news of the christians whom Francisco Hernandez had left in Yucatan, and was told in reply that one of them was dead and the other still alive; that they followed the coast to find the survivor, and on the 6th, went on land, but at first saw no one; that they mounted upon a tower there with a circumference of one hundred and eighty feet, planted the standard upon one of the fronts, and took possession in the name of the king; that afterwards they saw some Indians and went into their village; that amongst the houses were five well constructed, with a base very large and massive, and surmounted by turrets; that the village was paved with hollow stones, the streets rising at the sides and descending in the middle, which was paved entirely with large stones; that the sides were occupied by the houses of the inhabitants, constructed of stones from the foundation to half the height of the walls, and covered with straw; and that judging by the buildings, these Indians were very ingenious. Other villages are described on the

* The date given by some others is April, and by one January 1518.

coast; one so large that Seville would not have appeared more considerable nor better. And mention is made of a very beautiful tower on a point of land which they were told was inhabited by women who lived without men. They went to see the cacique Lazaro, who had given an honourable reception to Francisco Hernandez. The Indians seem however not to have desired their company; they told them to quit the country, and this not being done quick enough there was a passage of arms, in which forty of the Spaniards were wounded and one killed. The Spaniards re-embarked and quitted the country of this cacique the 29th of March. The last day of May they discovered a very good port, to which they gave the name of Port Désiré. Here they made some cabins of boughs, and remained twelve days. After which they went to reconnoiter another country named Mulua, which having done they proceeded on their route the first day of July. They saw a large river, from which sweet water goes into the sea for six miles: they gave to it the name of the river of Grijalva: the province was named Protontà. They saw a river having two mouths, out of which came sweet water; and they gave to it the name of Saint Barnabas, because they arrived the day of the feast of this saint. Near the mountains they anchored at a little isle, to which they gave the name of the Isle of Sacrafices. They saw some very high edifices built with lime, and a monument like a round tower, fifteen steps broad; at its summit was a block of marble, such as is found in Castile, surmounted by an animal like a lion, sculptured in marble, in whose

head there was a hole wherein to put perfumes. The natives in different parts of Yucatan wore cotton cloth. They gave to the Spaniards vases of gold and mantles or coverings of cotton, so woven as to represent figures of birds and animals of different kinds. They are described as being very civilized, and as having laws, and public edifices dedicated to the administration of justice. This account is stated to have been published in Italian at Venice in 1522.*

The hopes of Jeronimo de Aguilar had been revived by the arrival of the ships just mentioned, but the watchfulness of the Indians prevented him from attempting to escape.†

Velasquez, dissatisfied with Grijalva for not having founded any establishment in so rich a country, gave him a bad reception, and refused him the command of a new expedition. He made Hernando Cortez the commander of it. Grijalva, after this, was at Saint Domingo in 1523, living in a miserable manner. He went then to Terra Firma to join Pedrarias Davila, and was sent by him to Nicaragua, where he was killed, as well as many others, in a revolt of the Indians of the valley of Ulanchos.‡

"Seven years had gone by since Aguilar's capture, and he had given up all hopes of being restored to his country and

*The title of the publication is, "Itineraire du voyage de la flotte du roi catholique L'Ile de Yucatan Dans L'Inde. Fait en l'an 1518, sous les ordres du capitaine général Juan de Grijalva, Rédigé et dédié à S. A., par le chapelain en chef de ladite flotte." It forms a part of "Recueil de pièces relatives a la conquête du Mexique;" in which volume there are nine other pieces, for the most part not edited before. This volume is one of the "Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de L'Amérique, publiés pour la première fois en Français, par H. Ternaux-Compans," at Paris in 1838.

† Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 283.

‡ Preface to "Recueil de pièces relatives a la conquête du Mexique."

friends, when, in 1519, there arrived one day at the village three Indians, natives of the small island of Cozumel, which lies a few leagues in the sea, opposite the eastern coast of Yucatan. They brought tidings of another visit of white bearded men to their shores, and one of them delivered a letter to Aguilar, which, being entirely naked, he had concealed it in the long tresses of his hair which were bound round his head.

"Aguilar received the letter with wonder and delight, and read it in presence of the cacique and his warriors. It proved to be from Hernando Cortes, who was at that time on his great expedition, which ended in the conquest of Mexico. He had been obliged by stress of weather to anchor at the island of Cozumel, where he learned from the natives, that several white men were detained in captivity among the Indians on the neighbouring coast of Yucatan. Finding it impossible to approach the main land with his ships, he prevailed upon three of the islanders, by means of gifts and promises, to venture upon an embassy among their cannibal neighbours, and to convey a letter to the captive white men. Two of the smallest caravels of the squadron were sent under the command of Diego de Ordas, who was ordered to land the three messengers at the point of Cotoche, and to wait there eight days for their return.

"The letter brought by these envoys informed the Christian captives of the force and destination of the squadron of Cortes, and of his having sent the caravels to wait for them at the point of Cotoche, with a ransom for their deliverance, inviting them to hasten and join him at Cozumel.

"The transport of Aguilar on first reading the letter, was moderated when he reflected on the obstacles that might prevent him from profiting by this chance of deliverance. He had made himself too useful to the cacique to hope that he would readily give him his liberty, and he knew the jealous and irritable nature of the savages too well not to fear

that even an application for leave to depart might draw upon him the severest treatment. He endeavoured, therefore, to operate upon the cacique through his apprehensions. To this end he informed him that the piece of paper which he held in his hand brought him a full account of the mighty armament that had arrived on the coast. He described the number of the ships and various particulars concerning the squadron, all which were amply corroborated by the testimony of the messengers. The cacique and his warriors were astonished at this strange mode of conveying intelligence from a distance, and regarded the letter as something mysterious and supernatural. Aguilar went on to relate the tremendous and superhuman powers of the people in these ships, who, armed with thunder and lightning, wreaked destruction on all who displeased them, while they dispensed inestimable gifts and benefits on such as proved themselves their friends. He, at the same time spread before the cacique various presents brought by the messengers, as specimens of the blessings to be expected from the friendship of the strangers. The intimation was effectual. The cacique was filled with awe at the recital of the terrific powers of the white men, and his eyes were dazzled by the glittering trinkets displayed before him. He entreated Aguilar, therefore, to act as his embassador and mediator, and to secure him the amity of the strangers.

"Aguilar saw with transport the prospect of a speedy deliverance. In this moment of exultation, he bethought himself of the only surviving comrade of his past fortunes, Gonsalo Guerrero, and, sending the letter of Cortes to him, invited him to accompany him in his escape. The sturdy seaman was at this time a great chieftain in his province, and his Indian bride had borne him a numerous progeny. His heart, however, yearned after his native country, and he might have been tempted to leave his honours and dignities, his infidel wife and half savage offspring behind

him, but an insuperable, though somewhat ludicrous, obstacle presented itself to his wishes. Having long since given over all expectation of a return to civilized life, he had conformed to the customs of the country, and had adopted the external signs and decorations that marked him as a warrior and a man of rank. His face and hands were indelibly painted or tattooed; his ears and lips were slit to admit huge Indian ornaments, and his nose was drawn down almost to his mouth by a massy ring of gold, and a dangling jewel.

"Thus curiously garbled and disfigured, the honest seaman felt, that however he might be admired in Yucatan, he should be apt to have the rabble at his heels in Spain. He made up his mind, therefore, to remain a great man among the savages, rather than run the risk of being shown as a man-monster at home.

"Finding that he declined accompanying him, Jeronimo de Aguilar set off for the point of Cotoche, escorted by three Indians. The time he had lost in waiting for Guerrero had nearly proved fatal to his hopes, for when he arrived at the point, the caravels sent by Cortes had departed, though several crosses of reeds set up in different places gave tokens of the recent presence of Christians.

"The only hope that remained, was, that the squadron of Cortes might yet linger at the opposite island of Cozumel; but how was he to get there? While wandering disconsolately along the shore, he found a canoe, half buried in sand and water, and with one side in a state of decay; with the assistance of the Indians he cleaned it, and set it afloat, and on looking further he found the stave of a hogshead which might serve for a paddle. It was a frail embarkation in which to cross an arm of the sea, several leagues wide, but there was no alternative. Prevailing on the Indians to accompany him, he launched forth in the canoe and coasted the main land until he came to the nar-

rowest part of the strait, where it was but four leagues across; here he stood directly for Cozumel, contending, as well as he was able, with a strong current, and at length succeeded in reaching the island.

"He had scarce landed, when a party of Spaniards, who had been lying in wait, rushed forth from their concealment, sword in hand. The three Indians would have fled, but Aguilar reassured them, and calling out to the Spaniards in their own language, assured them that he was a Christian. Then, throwing himself upon his knees, and raising his eyes, streaming with tears to heaven, he gave thanks to God for having restored him to his countrymen.

"The Spaniards gazed at him with astonishment: from his language he was evidently a Castilian, but to all appearance he was an Indian. He was perfectly naked; wore his hair braided round his head in the manner of the country, and his complexion was burnt by the sun to a tawny colour. He had a bow in his hand, a quiver at his shoulder, and a net-work pouch at his side, in which he carried his provisions.

"The Spaniards proved to be a reconnoitering party, sent out by Cortes to watch the approach of the canoe, which had been descried coming from Yucatan. Cortes had given up all hopes of being joined by the captives, the caravel having waited the allotted time at Cotoche, and returned without news of them. He had, in fact, made sail to prosecute his voyage, but fortunately one of his ships had sprung a leak, which had obliged him to return to the island.

"When Jeronimo de Aguilar and his companions arrived in presence of Cortes, who was surrounded by his officers, they made a profound reverence, squatted on the ground, laid their bows and arrows beside them, and touching their right hands, wet with spittle on the ground, rubbed them about the region of the heart, such being their sign of the most devoted submission.

"Cortes greeted Aguilar with a hearty welcome, and raising him from the earth, took from his own person a large yellow mantle lined with crimson, and threw it over his shoulders. The latter, however, had for so long a time gone entirely naked, that even this scanty covering was at first almost insupportable, and he had become so accustomed to the diet of the natives, that he found it difficult to reconcile his stomach to the meat and drink set before him.

"When he had sufficiently recovered from the agitation of his arrival among Christians, Cortes drew from him the particulars of his story, and found that he was related to one of his own friends, the licentiate Marcos de Aguilar. He treated him, therefore, with additional kindness and respect, and retained him about his person to aid him as an interpreter in his great Mexican expedition.

"The happiness of Jeronimo de Aguilar at once more being restored to his countrymen, was doomed to suffer some alloy from the disasters that had happened in his family. Peter Martyr records a touching anecdote of the effect that had been produced upon his mother by the tidings of his misfortune. A vague report had reached her in Spain, that her son had fallen into the hands of cannibals. All the horrible tales that circulated in Spain, concerning the treatment of these savages to their prisoners, rushed to her imagination, and she went distracted. Whenever she beheld roasted meat, or flesh upon the spit, she would fill the house with her outcries. 'Oh, wretched mother! oh most miserable of women!' would she exclaim, 'behold the limbs of my murdered son.'*

"It is to be hoped, that the tidings of his deliverance had a favourable effect upon her intellects, and that she lived to rejoice at his after fortunes. He served Hernando Cortez with great courage and ability throughout his Mexican conquests, acting sometimes as a soldier, sometimes as

* P. Martyr, decad. 4, c. 6.

interpreter and ambassador to the Indians, and in reward of his fidelity and services, was appointed regidor, or civil governor of the City of Mexico."*

At this period Mr. Irving closes his narrative of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus. The period is deemed suitable for ending this account of discoveries in the west generally. The present volume, from its nature, is not one in which it would be suitable to draw further from the collection of pieces relative to the conquest of Mexico, or to narrate the horrible cruelties of the conquerors of that country. These are appropriate to a History of Mexico, and have been the subject of interesting works.†

The famous voyage of Fernando de Magalhaens or Magellan, the Portuguese navigator, cannot however be allowed to pass wholly unnoticed. He had served under Albuquerque in the East Indias, and distinguished himself, especially at the taking of Malacca in 1510. Entering afterwards in the service of

* Voyages of Companions of Columbus, p. 284 to 289.

† Several of these are in the collection of Voyages, Relations and Memoirs published at Paris in 1838 by H. Ternaux, to wit:

Rapport sur les differentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne sur les lois, les mœurs des habitants, sur les impots establé's avant et depuis la conquete etc. etc. Par Alonzo de Zurita ex-auditeur a l'audience royale de Mexico.

Histoire des Chichiméques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco, par Fernando D'Alva Ixtlilxôchitl traduit sur le manuscrit espagnol premiere et seconde partie.

Premier et second recueil de pièces sur Le Mexique inédites.

"Crautés Horribles des conquérants du Mexique, et Des Indiens qui les aidèrent a soumettre cet empire a la couronne d'Espagne, Mémoire de don Fernando D'Alva Ixtlilxôchitl; supplément a l'histoire du père Sahagun, publié et dédié au gouvernement suprême de la confédération mexicaine, par Charles-Marie de Bustamente;" printed at Mexico in 1829.

We have had also in the United States a "History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a preliminary view of the ancient Mexican civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror Hernando Cortés, by William H. Prescott, author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella. In three volumes;" eighth edition, published at New York in 1847.

Charles the Fifth, he was entrusted by him with the command of a fleet to explore a passage to the Molucco islands, by sailing westward. He commenced his voyage the 20th of September 1519, entered about the end of October 1520 the straits since called after him, and on the 27th of November discovered the Pacific Ocean. Continuing his cruise, he arrived at the Ladrone islands, and subsequently at the Philippines, on one of which he lost his life in a skirmish with the natives in 1521. This brief allusion to Magellan must suffice.

The plan of this work makes it necessary, gradually as we come down, in point of time, to circumscribe the locality of the voyages of which it treats. The next book will be of those on the Atlantic coast of North America.

BOOK II.

VOYAGES TO AND ALONG THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA FROM 1520 TO 1573.

CHAPTER I.

Of the voyages of Luke Vasquez d' Aylon to Florida in 1520 and 1524; and that of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1521.

After Florida came into possession of the English, a small volume, of one hundred and two pages, was published at London in 1763, entitled

"An account of the first discovery and natural history of Florida, with a particular detail of the several expeditions and descents made on that coast, collected from the best authorities, by William Roberts, illustrated by a general map and some particular plans, together with a geographical description of that country by T. Jeffreys, geographer to his majesty."

This account was published at a period when the settlement of Florida was under the consideration of the English government, and it was supposed would be of service to such ships as might be sent thither. Mr. Jeffreys considered his geographical description of the sea coast, in a much nearer degree accurate,

than any then extant, as he had digested it from a considerable number of original Spanish and French charts, found on board of vessels of those nations, made prizes. The map is useful at the present day, as shewing the names by which places were then known.

At page 27 of the volume of Mr. Roberts, is the following:

"In the year 1520, Luke Vasquez of Aylon, a licentiate, being in want of hands to work in the mines, entered into a resolution, with some associates, to try if they could steal off a number of savages from the neighbouring islands, to be employed in this business. For this purpose they equipped two ships, and sailed out of the harbour of Plata, situated on the north side of Hispaniola, and steered, either by chance or design, which it was is uncertain, a northwestern course, until they came to the most distant of the Lucayos islands; and thence, to what was then part of Florida, in thiry-two degrees north latitude, now called St. Helena. At the sight of these ships making towards the shore with expanded sails, the amazed natives ran in crowds to view them, conceiving that they must be some monstrous fishes driven upon the coast; but, as soon as they saw men with beards and covered with clothing, land out of these floating mansions, they fled in a panic. The Spaniards, having stopped two of them, carried them off into their ships; where, after having entertained them with meat and drink, they sent them back again cloathed in the Spanish habit. The king of the country, admiring the dress, sent fifty of his people to the ships, with a present of various fruits and provisions; and, not contented with doing this, he made a party of his subjects attend the Spaniards in the many excursions into the neighbouring provinces, with which, at their request, he gratified their inclinations; where they

were presented with gold, plates of silver, pearls, &c., and received in the most hospitable manner. The Spaniards, having made their own observations, as they passed, upon the customs and manners of the inhabitants, the soil and climate, invited a large number of the natives (after they had watered their ships and were prepared for departure) to an entertainment on board their vessels; where, having plied their guests well with liquor, they took that wicked opportunity to weigh anchor, and sail away with these unhappy deluded people towards Hispaniola. Many of the poor wretches pined to death with vexation, and from an obstinate refusal of food; the greater part of what remained, perished in one of the vessels that foundered at sea; and some of them, in vain appealing to the violated rights of hospitality, were hurried into a cruel and hopeless slavery. Vasquez, instead of the punishment due to so inhuman and horrid a proceeding, expected and obtained of the king, the reward appointed for such as discovered new lands, together with the usual immunities they were entitled to."

Of the next expedition to Florida, we have an account by Mr. Irving, at page 321 of his volume of Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus. Mentioning Juan Ponce de Leon, after he had returned from his enterprise against the Caribs to Porto Rico, Mr. Irving says of him:

"He continued for several years in that island, in a state of growling repose, until the brilliant exploits of Hernando Cortes, which threatened to eclipse the achievements of all the veteran discoverers, roused his dormant spirit.

"Jealous of being cast in the shade in his old days, he determined to sally forth on one more expedition. He had heard that Florida, which he had discovered, and which he

had hitherto considered a mere island, was part of Terra Firma, possessing vast and unknown regions in its bosom. If so, a grand field of enterprise lay before him, wherein he might make discoveries and conquests to rival, if not surpass, the far-famed conquest of Mexico.

"Accordingly, in the year 1521, he fitted out two ships at the island of Porto Rico, and embarked almost the whole of his property in the undertaking. His voyage was toilsome and tempestuous, but at length he arrived at the wished-for land. He made a descent upon the coast with a great part of his men, but the Indians sallied forth with unusual valour to defend their shores. A bloody battle ensued, several of the Spaniards were slain, and Juan Ponce was wounded by an arrow, in the thigh. He was borne on board his ship, and finding himself disabled for further action, set sail for Cuba, where he arrived ill in body and dejected in heart.

"He was of an age when there is no longer prompt and healthful reaction, either mental or corporeal. The irritations of humiliated pride and disappointed hope, exasperated the fever of his wound, and he died soon after his arrival at the island. 'Thus fate,' says one of the quaint old Spanish writers, 'delights to reverse the schemes of man. The discovery that Juan Ponce flattered himself was to lead to a means of perpetuating his life, had the ultimate effect of hastening his death.'

"It may be said, however, that he has, at least attained the shadow of his desire, since, though disappointed in extending the natural term of his existence, his discovery has ensured a lasting duration to his name.

"The following epitaph was inscribed upon his tomb, which does justice to the warrior qualities of the stout old cavalier:

"Mole sub hac fortis requiescat ossa Leonis,
Qui vicit factis nomina magna suis."

"It has thus been paraphrased in Spanish by the licentiate Juan de Castellanos:

"Aqueste lugar estrecho
Es sepulchro del varon,
Que en el nombre fue Leon,
Y mucho mas en el hecho."

"'In this sepulchre rest the bones of a man, who was a lion by name, and still more by nature.'"

Of Luke Vasquez of Aylon, it is said by Roberts, at page 28, that after he had received a reward for what he had before done:

"In the year 1524, he sent more ships to Florida, and was so elated with the accounts he had from them, of the fertility of the soil, and the great plenty of gold, silver and pearls, to be found there, that he hastened thither himself the next year, with three ships; but having lost one of them when near the cape of St. Helen, and two hundred of his people whom he had landed being entirely destroyed by the natives, more through their own negligence and supine security, than the bravery of the inhabitants; disappointed of his wishes, and broken hearted, he returned back again to Hispaniola."

This is not entirely consistent with what is found in Biedma's account of the expedition of De Soto to Florida in 1539, to be mentioned hereafter in chapter xii. His language is:

"Nous apprimes que la troupe d'Ayllon s'etait avancée fort peu dans l interieur, q'uelle avait suivi presque toujours le bord de la mer jusqu'a la mort de ce dernier, et que ses compagnons s'etaient entretués, ne pouvant s'accorder entre eux sur le choix d'un chef."

CHAPTER II.

Of the project of Cortez in 1524 for examining the coast of the Atlantic as well as the Pacific.

The project in 1524 of the celebrated Cortez was attended with no interesting results. Mr. Biddle in his Memoir of Cabot, p. 258, 9, refers to the letter in which Cortez apprises the emperor of his views on the subject.

"This letter, dated 16th of October 1524, will be found in Barcia's Historiadores Primitivos, Tom. 1, p. 151, and is faithfully rendered by Ramusio, vol. iii. fol. 294. After expressing great zeal for the service of the emperor, he remarks that it seemed to him no other enterprise remained by which to manifest his devotion than to examine the region between the river Panuco (in Mexico) and Florida, recently discovered by the Adelantado Ponce de Leon, and also *the coast of the said Florida towards the north until it reaches the Baccalaos*, holding it for certain that along the coast is a strait conducting to the South sea. He states as a part of his plan, that certain vessels in the Pacific should sail concurrently along the western coast of America, while the others, 'as I have said, proceed up to the point of junction with the Baccalaos, so that on one side or the other we cannot fail to ascertain the secret.'"

"It is material to remark," observes Mr. Biddle, "that Cortez has no other designation for the region in the north than that which Peter Martyr, in his decades published eight years before, had stated to have been conferred on it by Cabot."

At this period there was a very important enterprise on the southern continent; it can only be adverted to here in the briefest manner. Pedrarias de Avila having colonized the City of Panama, that of Natay, and the town of Nombre de Dios, Francisco Pizarro was living in the City of Panama, when he asked permission of Pedrarias to go to make discoveries farther south. Pizarro set out from Panama the 14th of November 1524, and proceeded to conquer Peru. A relation of this conquest by Francisco de Xéres, a secretary of Pizarro, was printed at Seville in 1534, at Venice in 1535, and at Salamanca in 1547, and was reprinted at Paris in 1837 by H. Ternaux in his collection of voyages, relations and memoirs, to serve for the history of the discovery of America, in which collection will also be found,

"Memoires historiques sur l' ancien Pérou par le licencié Fernando Montisinos;" and

"Histoire du Pérou par Miguel Cavello Balboa."

We have had likewise published at New York, in 1847,

"History of the Conquest of Peru, with a preliminary view of the civilization of the Incas, by William H. Prescott, corresponding member of the French institute, of the royal academy of history at Madrid, &c. in two volumes."

CHAPTER III.

Of the voyage of John De Verazzano in 1524, along the coast of North America, from Carolina to Newfoundland.

In 152¾, Francis the First, King of France, sent forth John de Verazzano, a Florentine, with four ships. An account of the voyage of Verazzano was, about forty years after its completion, published at Venice, in the Italian language, in the third volume of Ramusio's collection of voyages and travels. An English translation of the account in Ramusio was published in 1600 in Hakluyt's Collection,* and republished from Hakluyt in 1611, by the New York Historical Society.† In 1834, Mr. Alfred Hawkins published an interesting account of Quebec, wherein, noticing Verazzano, he refers to a manuscript of his, preserved in the Strozzi library at Florence, and expresses the desire that some Italian scholar would favour the world with its publication.‡ The North American Review for October 1837, contains an account of the researches of George W. Greene, Esq., the American consul at Rome. He found at Florence a manuscript of Verazzano's letter of the 8th of July 1524, to the King of France, differing, in some respects, from the one in Ramusio. Mr. Greene having furnished to the Historical Society of New

* Vol. 3, p. 295 to 300. † Volume Collections for 1809, p. 45. ‡ Hawkins's Quebec, p. 33.

York a copy of this manuscript, a translation of it from the Italian was made by Joseph G. Cogswell, Esq., a member of that society, and published in 1841 in the second series of the society's collections. It will be found in the first volume of the second series, page 37 to 67. The following extract from that volume contains Verazzano's account of the new country, which he reached on the 20th of March, sailing from Madeira towards the west, a little northwardly:

"At first it appeared to be very low, but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretched to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port, in which we might come to anchor, and examine into the nature of the country, but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely. Seeing the coast still stretched to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward, and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the seaside fled at our approach, but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced by various friendly signs to come to us. These showed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals like martens fastened by a girdle of plaited

grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

"The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians; their hair is black and thick, and not very long, it is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person, they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body; the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces, but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the east, especially those the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages, on account of our short stay among them and the distance of our ship from the shore.

"We found not far from this people another whose mode of life we judged to be similar. The whole shore is covered with fine sand, about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea which make in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests of trees, more or less dense, too various in colours, and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that they are like the Hercynian forest or the rough wilds of Scythia, and the northern regions full of vines and common trees, but adorned with palms, laurels,

cypresses, and other varieties unknown in Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance, but which we could not examine more closely for the reasons before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, on the contrary, are easily penetrated.

"As the 'East' stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the colour of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water, and being in the latitude of 34°,* the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions, the most prevalent are the northwest and west. In summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear, with but little rain: if fogs and mists are at any time driven in by the south wind, they are instantaneously dissipated, and at once it becomes serene and bright again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, and its waves are gentle. Although the whole coast is low and without harbours, it is not dangerous for navigation, being free from rocks and bold, so that within four or five fathoms from the shore, there is twenty-four feet of water at all times of tide, and this depth constantly increases in a uniform proportion. The holding ground is so good that no ship can part her cable, however violent the wind, as we proved by experience: for while riding at anchor on the coast, we were overtaken by a gale in the beginning of March, when the winds are high, as is usual in all countries; we found our anchor broken before it started from its hold or moved at all.

* In the southern part of what is now North Carolina, near Cape Fear.

"We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west (east?); the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them, he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them that he lay as it were dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trowsers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore; then leaving him that he might

feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black like the others, that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; this is all that he observed of them.

"Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the largest forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason; the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age; when we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any; every thing we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants, which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp; their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others. Their food is a kind of pulse which there abounds, different in colour and

size from ours, and of a very delicious flavour. Besides, they take birds and fish for food, using snares and bows made of hard wood, with reeds for arrows, in the ends of which they put the bones of fish and other animals. The animals in these regions are wilder than in Europe, from being continually molested by the hunters. We saw many of their boats made of one tree twenty feet long and four feet broad, without the aid of stone or iron or other kind of metal. In the whole country, for the space of two hundred leagues, which we visited, we saw no stone of any sort. To hollow out their boats, they burn out as much of a log as is requisite, and also from the prow and stern to make them float well on the sea. The land, in situation, fertility and beauty, is like the other, abounding also in forests filled with various kinds of trees, but not of such fragrance, as it is more northern and colder.

"We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove the shrubbery from around them, wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found also wild roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own. We cannot describe their habitations, as they are in the interior of the country, but from various indications we conclude they must be formed of trees and shrubs. We saw also many grounds for conjecturing that they often sleep in the open air, without any covering but the sky. Of their other usages we know nothing; we believe, however, that all the people we were among live in the same way.

"After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbour, we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the northeast, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colours. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor, we sailed fifty leagues towards the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your majesty's illustrious mother.

"We did not land there, as the weather was unfavourable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces; stopping, they looked at the structure of our ship, our persons and dress, afterwards they all raised a loud shout together, signifying that they were pleased. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear. Among them were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described; one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four, and they were dressed in the following manner: The oldest had a deer's skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures, his head was without covering, his hair was tied back in various knots; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colours. The young man was similar in his general appearance. This is the finest looking tribe, and the handsomest in their costumes, that we have found in our voyage. They exceed us in size, and they are of a very fair complexion (?); some of them incline more to a white (bronze?), and others to a tawny colour; their faces are sharp, their hair long and black, upon the adorning of which they bestow great pains; their eyes are black and sharp, their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique. I say nothing to your majesty of the other parts of the body, which are all in good proportion, and such as belong to well-formed men. Their women are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty; they wear no

clothing except a deer skin, ornamented like those worn by the men; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which also hang down upon their breasts on each side. Others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use. The older and the married people, both men and women, wear many ornaments in their ears, hanging down in the oriental manner. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals—yellow being the colour especially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case with the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them, and one day we entered into the port with our ship, having before rode at the distance of a league from the shore, as the weather was adverse. They came off to the ship with a number of their little boats, with their faces painted in divers colours, showing us real signs of joy, bringing us of their provisions, and signifying to us where we could best ride in safety with our ship, and keeping with us until we had cast anchor. We remained among them fifteen days, to provide ourselves with many things of which we were in want, during which time they came every day to see our ship, bringing with them their wives, of whom they were very careful; for, al-

though they came on board themselves, and remained a long while, they made their wives stay in the boats, nor could we ever get them on board by any entreaties or any presents we could make them. One of the two kings often came with his queen and many attendants, to see us for his amusement; but he always stopped at the distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying they would come and see our ship—this was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us they came off, and remained awhile to look around: but on hearing the annoying cries of the sailors, the king sent the queen, with her attendants, in a very light boat, to wait, near an island a quarter of a league distant from us. while he remained a long time on board, talking with us by signs, and expressing his fanciful notions about every thing in the ship, and asking the use of all. After imitating our modes of salutation, and tasting our food, he courteously took leave of us. Sometimes, when our men staid two or three days on a small island, near the ship, for their various necessities, as sailors are wont to do, he came with seven or eight of his attendants, to inquire about our movements, often asking us if we intended to remain there long, and offering us every thing at his command, and then he would shoot with his bow, and run up and down with his people, making great sport for us. We often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or oil; there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hindrances, and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous; the trees of which they were composed, were oaks, cypresses, and others, unknown in Europe. We found, also, apples, plumbs, filberts,

and many other fruits, but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares, and by bows, the latter being their chief implement; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them, they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones, in the place of iron. They also use the same kind of sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons; their oars are short, and broad at the end, and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security, and as nimbly as they choose. We saw their dwellings, which are of a circular form, of about ten or twelve paces in circumference, made of logs split in halves, without any regularity of architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on, which protect them from wind and rain. There is no doubt that they would build stately edifices if they had workmen as skilful as ours, for the whole sea coast abounds in shining stones, crystals, and alabaster, and for the same reason it has ports and retreats for animals. They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require; this is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers; in some we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. Their food is pulse, as with the other tribes, which is here better than elsewhere, and more carefully cultivated; in the time of sowing, they are governed by the moon, the sprouting of grain, and many other ancient usages. They live by hunting and fishing, and they are long-lived. If they fall sick, they cure themselves without medicine, by the heat of the fire, and their death at last comes from extreme old age. We judge them to be very affec-

tionate and charitable towards their relatives—making loud lamentations in their adversity, and in their misery calling to mind all their good fortune. At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing, for a long while. This is all that we could learn of them. This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being 41° 40′ of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbour is half a league broad; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very lage bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands, of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbour, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance, there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbour.*

"Having supplied ourselves with every thing necessary, on the fifth of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight; the nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains

* The above description applies to Narraganset bay and the harbour of Newport in Rhode Island, although mistaken by Dr. Miller, in his Discourse before this Society, as published in the first volume of the former series of Collections, for the bay and harbour of New York. The latter are briefly described in a preceding paragraph of this translation, p. 45, with sufficient clearness to admit of their being easily recognized. The island "of a triangular form, resembling the island of Rhodes," which Verazzano mentions as fifty leagues to the east of New York, p. 46, is doubtless Block Island.—ED.

were a little higher, and all in appearance rich in minerals. We did not stop to land as the weather was very favourable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east, and fifty leagues beyond more to the north, where we found a more elevated country, full of very thick woods of fir trees, cypresses and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation; the land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffick with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us, not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; they took from us only knives, fish hooks and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will, we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men; when we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper ear-rings. Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering

northeast, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods; and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Adriatic gulph, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water and determined to return to France, having discovered 502, that is 700 (sic) leagues of unknown lands."

Verazzano states that his intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay on the extreme coast of Asia; not doubting that he should penetrate by some passage to the Eastern ocean. He proceeds to say, it was the opinion of the ancients that our Oriental Indian ocean is one, and without any interposing land, but that this opinion is shewn to be erroneous by experience.

"The country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe, together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent, as shall now be briefly explained to your majesty. The Spaniards have sailed south beyond the equator on a meridian 20 degrees west of the Fortunate Islands to the latitude of 54, and there still found land; turning about they steered northward on the same meridian and along the coast to the eighth degree of lati-

tude near the equator, and thence along the coast more to the west and northwest, to the latitude of 21°, without finding a termination to the continent; they estimated the distance run as 89 degrees, which, added to the 20 first run west of the Canaries, make 109 degrees and so far west; they sailed from the meridian of these islands, but this may vary somewhat from truth; we did not make this voyage, and therefore cannot speak from experience; we calculated it geometrically from the observations furnished by many navigators, who have made the voyage and affirm the distance to be 1600 leagues, due allowance being made for the deviations of the ship from a straight course, by reason of contrary winds. I hope that we shall now obtain certain information on these points, by new voyages to be made on the same coasts. But to return to ourselves; in the voyage which we have made by order of your majesty, in addition to the 92 degrees we run towards the west from our point of departure, before we reached land in the latitude of 34, we have to count 300 leagues which we ran northeastwardly, and 400 nearly east along the coast before we reached the 50th parallel of north latitude, the point where we turned our course from the shore towards home. Beyond this point, the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle, without coming to the termination of the land. Thus adding the degrees of south latitude explored, which are 54, to those of the north, which are 66, the sum is 120, and therefore more than are embraced in the latitude of Africa and Europe, for the north point of Norway, which is the extremity of Europe, is in 71 north, and the cape of Good Hope, which is the southern extremity of Africa, is in 35 south, and their sum is only 106, and if the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients sup-

posed, who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was less than the water, whereas actual experience proves the reverse, so that we judge in respect to extent of surface the land covers as much space as the water; and I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking. The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain is joined to Europe at the north in Norway and Russia, which disproves the idea of the ancients that all this part had been navigated from the Cimbric Chersonesus, eastward as far as the Caspian sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situate to the east and west of it, which seas in fact do not surround either of the two continents, for as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of 54 extends eastwardly an unknown distance, and that of the northern passing the 66th parallel turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th."*

The fate of Verazzano is involved in some mystery.

If Francis the First received the letter of Verazzano, in any short time after it was written, it must have been at a time when his thoughts were wholly occupied by his war with Charles the Fifth. Francis laid siege to Pavia in 1524, was defeated there the 24th of February 1525, and after having two horses killed under him, and receiving himself three wounds,† fell, with his principal officers, into the hands of the enemy. It was on this occasion that he wrote to his mother, "all is lost except our honour." He was carried to Madrid and kept in confinement until after

* New York Historical Collections, new series, vol. 1, p. 52, 3.

† "L'Histoire de France," printed at Paris in 1775, vol. 2, p. 462.

the treaty of the 14th of January 1526. It has been suggested that Verazzano on his return to France, seeing from the condition of his king no chance of further employment by his government, left its service.* Mr. Biddle states that Verazzano got into communication with Henry the Eighth, and refers, as proof of this, to the following statement in an edition of Hakluyt, published in 1582:

"Master John Verarzanus, which had been thrice on that coast, in an old excellent map which he gave to Henry the Eighth, and is yet in the custody of Master Locke, doth so lay it out as is to be seen in the map annexed to the end of this book, being made according to Verarzanus' plat."†

* Hawkins's Quebec, p. 29, 30.
† Biddle's Memoir, p. 272.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the voyage of Stephen Gomez to the Northwest, in 1525.

Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, who, in the brief narrative which we have of Magellan's memorable, but tragic expedition, occupies (Mr. Biddle observes) a prominent, though not very creditable place,* fitted out an expedition in the latter part of 1524, by order of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Several authors of reputation, on the history of the new world, who wrote prior to 1612, give accounts of his voyage.

Peter Martyr, "after describing the conference at Badajos in 1524, says: 'It is decreed that one Stephanus Gomez (who, also, is himself a skilful navigator) shall go another way, whereby *between the Baccalaos and Florida*, long since our country's, he saith he will find out a way to Cataia.' He then proceeds to describe the equipment and the instructions given by the council. In the 8th decade, ch. x., we have an account of the return of Gomez; of the country visited by him; and of his having, in violation of the standing orders on that subject, forcibly brought off some of the inhabitants."†

The account in Oviedo (Sommario, ch. x. fo. xiv.), translated by Richard Eden, in his Decades, fol. 213, states that Gomez "sailed to the north parts and found a great part of the land continuate from that which is called Baccalaos, discoursing towards the

* Memoir of Cabot, p. 264. † Id. p. 262, 3; also, p. 265, *note*.

west to the fortieth and forty-first degree;" that he arrived in November 1525, shortly after the emperor came to the City of Toledo; and that he brought with him certain Indians, for so were called all the natives of the new-found lands. The Indians so brought home by Gomez, are described as of greater stature than others of the firm land, as they are commonly; as great archers, who go covered with the skins of beasts; and it is said, that in the land which Gomez found, are many excellent furs, of which he brought some with him to Spain.* An ancient map, in manuscript, drawn in 1529 by Diego Ribeiro, a Spanish cosmographer, has also preserved remembrance of the voyage.†

Peter Martyr, in his account of this voyage of Gomez, tells, with great glee, the jest about *esclavos:*

"When he came into the haven of Clunia, from whence he set sail, a certain man, hearing of the arrival of his ship and that he had brought *esclavos*, that is to say slaves, seeking no farther, came posting unto us with panting and breathless spirit, saying that Stephanus Gomez bringeth his ship laden with cloves and precious stones, and thought thereby to have received some rich present or reward. They who favoured the matter, attentive to this man's foolish and idle report, wearied the whole court with exceeding great applause, calling the word by *aphæreses*, proclaiming that for *esclavos* he had brought *clavos*, (for the Spanish tongue calleth slaves *esclavos*, and cloves *clavos*,) but after the court understood that the tale was transformed from *clavos* to slaves, they break forth into a great laughter, to the shame and blushing of the favourers who had shouted for joy."‡

* Memoir of Cabot, p. 263. † Id. p. 267. ‡ Id. p. 266.

CHAPTER V.

Of the voyage made by Sebastian Cabot in 1526.

The first volume of Hakluyt's Collection contains at page 214 a communication in 1527 from Robert Thorne, an English merchant residing at Seville, to Dr. Lee, the English ambassador at the court of Spain, in relation to the discoveries made under the authority of Spain and Portugal, and giving his own views in respect to a northerly way to the Moluccas. He says,

"In a fleet of three ships and a caravel that went from this city armed by the merchants of it, which departed in April last past, I and my partner have fourteen hundred duckets that we employed in the said fleet, principally for that two Englishmen, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in cosmography, should go in the same ships to bring me certain relation of the situation of the country and to be expert in the navigation of those seas and there to have informations of many other things and advice that I desire to know especially; seeing in these quarters are ships and mariners of that country and cards by which they sail, though much unlike ours, that they should procure to have the said cards and learn how they understand them, and especially to know what navigation they have for those islands, northwards and northeastward; for, if from the said islands, the sea did extend without interposition of land, to sail from the north point to the northeast point seventeen hundred or eighteen hundred leagues, they should come to the new found islands that we discovered,

and so we should be nearer to the said spicerie by almost two thousand leagues than the emperor or the king of Portugal."

Before this, Christovano Jaques, a gentleman of the family of King John the Third, had, in 1525, founded an establishment on the coast of Brazil. But the Portuguese government occupied itself then very little with that country; its attention was concentrated upon its possessions in the East Indias. The fleet referred to by Thorne was sent from Spain under Sebastian Cabot. It was intended for the Moluccas by the straits of Magellan, but stopped at the coast of Brazil, where Cabot penetrated the river which has taken the name of the Rio de la Plata, or river of silver, because of the silver brought from it. He sailed up the river Paraguay a great distance; the number of leagues that he sailed up the La Plata and Paraguay is stated variously from one hundred and twenty to six hundred: it is said in some of the accounts that he only stopped from a fear of encroaching on the Portuguese possessions. After having remained in this country about five years, during which time he lost many people in his combats with the Indians, Cabot decided to return to Europe for reinforcements. He gave so good an account of this province that Don Pedro de Mendoço solicited the government of it, which he obtained on his agreeing to transport to it a thousand men and a hundred horses, and construct there three fortresses.*

* Vol. 3 of Hakluyt, p. 726. Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, p. 144, also 167 and 171. Preface to "Histoire Véritable d' un Voyage curieux fait par Ulrich Schmidel De Straubing," which is one of the "Voyages, Relations et Memoires," published at Paris in 1837, by H. Ternaux-Compans. Also from the preface to another; the History of the Province of Sancta Cruz.

CHAPTER VI.

Of a voyage from England to the northwest in 1527.

Robert Thorne, besides writing to the English ambassador at Spain, sent an address to Henry the Eighth of England, urging upon that monarch that with a small number of ships new lands might be discovered, and that the way of discovery was to the north. This letter is in the first volume of Hakluyt's Collection, page 212.

Historians often tell us that Henry the Eighth made no attempt to explore or settle North America. This is a mistake. In the nineteenth year of his reign, Henry sent forth two ships on a voyage to the west: one called the Samson, of which a Mr. Grubs was master; the other the Mary of Guilford, commanded by John Rut. They sailed in 1527: it was the 20th of May, according to Hakluyt, that they set forth out of the Thames, and the 10th of June, according to Purchas, that they sailed from Plymouth. On the way, they were separated by a storm. A letter is extant from Rut to King Henry, written the 3d of August 1527, in which he states that the Mary, in fifty-two degrees, fell in with the main land, and within two leagues thereof met with a great island of ice, and went the 21st of July into Cape de Bas, a good harbour, where he stopped ten days, and then going south entered the 3d of August into a good harbour called St. John, where he found eleven sail of Normans, and one Britain and one Portugal bark, all

fishing. A letter to the same effect was written from St. John on the 10th of August 1527, by Albert de Prato, who we may infer is the person alluded to by Hakluyt when he says, "that a canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great mathematician, and a man endowed with wealth, did much advance the action, and went therein himself in person." The letter of Albert de Prato, it is supposed, was to Cardinal Wolsey.* Hakluyt says:

"One of the ships was cast away as it entered into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening between the north parts of Newfoundland and the country lately called by her majesty (Queen Elizabeth) Meta Incognita: whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Breton and the coasts of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknown regions, returned home about the beginning of October of the year aforesaid."

Mr. Biddle, in his Memoir of Cabot, page 272, argues that Verazzano went on this voyage, and was lost in the Samson. The same answer may be given to this theory which has been given to the position that the St. Lawrence was the scene of his death previously to the second voyage of Jacques Cartier. In relation to this, Mr. Francis Hawkins said that Verazzano was then alive in Italy, and referred to a letter of Annibal Caro, quoted by Tiraboschi, an author of reputation in the Storia della Letteratura Italiana, vol. 7th, part 1, p. 261, 2, as proving that Verazzano was living in 1537.†

*3d vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims, book 4, ch. 13, p. 809. 3d vol. of Hakluyt's Collection, p. 129.

† Hawkins's Quebec, p. 31, 2.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez to Florida in 1527; and Cabeca de Vaca's long and perilous journey on foot to Mexico.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, who had previously commanded the army sent by Valasquez to take from Hernando Cortez the government of Mexico, set out from Saint Lucar, on the 17th of June 1527, under the authority of the King of Spain, to conquer and govern Florida. His fleet was composed of five vessels, with about six hundred men and various officers, amongst whom was Cabeça de Vaca, treasurer and alguazil mayor. Stopping at Saint Domingo about forty-five days, to procure necessaries, more than one hundred and forty men abandoned the fleet in this isle. The rest proceeded to Saint Jago, a port of Cuba, where the governor obtained men in place of those who had quitted him, and also a supply of arms and horses. Here a gentleman named Vasco Porcullo, made an offer of some provisions that he had at Trinity, a town one hundred leagues from Saint Jago. Half way to Trinity, at a port called Santa Cruz, the fleet stopped, and the governor sent a captain named Pantoja, in one vessel, accompanied by Cabeça de Vaca in another, to get the provisions; the governor remaining at Santa Cruz with four ships, for he had bought one at Saint Domingo. While the two vessels were in the port of Trinity, there was a

violent storm, in which they were destroyed, and seventy persons and twenty horses that were aboard; those alone surviving who had landed, (about thirty in number.) These remained at Trinity until the 5th of November, when the governor arrived with his four ships. He passed the winter at this port; and Cabeça de Vaca, with the vessels and company, wintered at Xagua, twelve leagues from there. The 20th of February $152\frac{7}{8}$, the governor arrived at Xagua, with a brigantine bought at Trinity, and a man named Marvelo, engaged because of his knowledge of Florida. Two days after, the governor embarked with four hundred men and eighty horses, in four vessels and a brigantine. After doubling the cape of Saint Anthony, they went across to Florida, which they reached the 11th of April. Following the coast, they anchored at the entrance of a bay, on which they saw an Indian town.* Alonzo Enriquez landing on an isle in the bay, met with Indians, who furnished him with fish and meat. The next day the governor went to the Indian towns, which he found abandoned. The day after, he planted the royal standard, and took possession of the country in the name of the king; he landed as many horses as remained alive, being forty-two. On the following day the Indians came to see them. The Spaniards having no interpreters, could not clearly understand them, but thought, from their signs, that they wished them to leave the country.

*In the work published at London in 1763, referred to *ante*, p. 295, there is the following mention of Pensacola, stated to be in thirty degrees twenty five minutes north latitude: "This place was first discovered by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who landed there in his unsuccessful expedition to Florida. Some time after, Diego de Maldonado, one of Ferdinand de Soto's captains, touched here and named it Port d' Anchusi."

The governor afterwards decided to penetrate into the interior, accompanied by forty men, amongst whom was Cabeça de Vaca. Going in the direction of the north, they arrived at a very large bay. They passed the night here, and returned next day to the vessels. After sending the brigantine, with the pilot Marvelo, to gain a particular port, (which he said he knew,) or else go to Havana and bring thence a vessel loaded with provisions, the governor, with the same persons (who had been on the previous excursion) and some additional soldiers, penetrated again into the interior. They coasted the bay which they had discovered, and after making four leagues, took four Indians, who carried them to their town, a little distance off, at the end of the bay. Here was seen a little maize, not yet ripe. There was a number of boxes, in each of which was a dead body, covered with skins of stags. The commissary supposing these were objects of idolatry, caused the boxes and bodies to be burnt. The Spaniards saw here some pieces of painted cloth and plumes of feathers, which seemed to have come from New Spain, and some traces of gold. The Indians, by signs, informed them of a province named Apalache, where would be found a quantity of metal. Taking the Indians for guides, they proceeded ten or twelve leagues farther, when they came to a village of fifteen houses, near which were large fields of maize, fit to be gathered. After halting two days, they returned to the vessels on the 30th of April.

Next day the governor decided that the vessels should follow the coast until they found the port be-

fore referred to, and that the troops should proceed on land in the same direction. Three hundred men, having each but two pounds of biscuit and a half pound of bacon, and no other food, marched fifteen days without seeing an Indian or house. At length they arrived at a river, which they passed with much trouble, the current being very strong. On the other side there were about twelve hundred Indians, to whose houses, about half a league off, they were conducted. In the neighbourhood was a large quantity of maize, ready to be gathered. The Spaniards, fatigued with marching, and enfeebled by hunger, enjoyed here three days of rest. Then Cabeça de Vaca, with captain Alonzo Castillo and forty soldiers, set out to seek a port, but finding themselves impeded by the river, which they had already crossed, returned. The following day, the governor ordered a captain named Valençuela, with sixty men and six cavaliers, to cross the river and descend it to the sea, and discover a port if he could. This officer returned, after two days, saying he had explored the bay, and found it had shallow water and no port. The Spaniards then marched for the province, called by the Indians Apalache, carrying for guides those whom they had taken. On the 17th of June, they saw an Indian chief, (accompanied by many people,) who was made to understand by signs that they were going to Apalache. He seemed to be an enemy of this nation, and willing to aid in the expedition. After an exchange of presents, he left them, and they followed the route he had taken. In the evening, they arrived at a river, very deep, wide and rapid. Not venturing

to pass it upon rafts, they constructed a canoe. A day was spent in gaining the other side. A cavalier named Juan Velasquez, a native of Cuellar, entering the river, was thrown from his horse by the force of the current, and drowned. That night, we are told, his horse served for supper for many of the people. After a fatiguing journey, during which they suffered much from hunger, and were sometimes annoyed by the Indians, they at length arrived near Apalache on the 25th of June.

The governor ordered Cabeça de Vaca to take more cavaliers and fifty foot soldiers, and go into the village. They found there only women and children, but a little while after, the men arrived. They shot some arrows and then retired.

The village of Apalache contained forty small houses. Two hours after the Spaniards arrived there, the Indians who had fled returned peaceably to ask for their women and children, which were given up to them, but the governor retained a cacique who had been the cause of hostilities. The next day, the Indians recommenced hostilities. The Spaniards were greatly annoyed, but retained possession of the village twenty-five days, during which they made three journeys into the interior.

Resuming their march, the Spaniards the first day crossed some lakes without meeting any Indians. Next day they encountered a marsh very difficult to pass. When in the midst of it, a number of Indians attacked them. The governor ordering the cavaliers against them, the Indians went into another marsh and the Spaniards remained masters of the passage.

After some further encounters with the Indians, in one of which Cabeça de Vaca was wounded, the Spaniards arrived in the village of Haute, nine days after their departure from Apalache.

The inhabitants of Haute had abandoned it and burnt their houses. After the Spaniards had rested here two days, Cabeça de Vaca set out to seek the sea, accompanied by captain Castillo, Andrès Dorantès, seven cavaliers and fifty foot soldiers. They marched till evening and came to a bay where they found a great quantity of large oysters which was a treat to the soldiers. The next day, the coast was reconnoitred, and then the party returned to the governor.

He was sick. So also was a third of the men, and the rest were likely to become so. It was desirable to construct vessels in which to embark. The construction was commenced with a single carpenter, but the men set to work with so much ardour, that between the 4th of August and 20th of September they made five vessels of twenty-two cubits in length. According to their calculation they had made a journey of about two hundred and eighty leagues from the bay where they first landed to this place. And in this time about forty men had died of sickness or hunger, without counting those who had been killed by the Indians. The 22d of September, having finished now (it is said) eating the horses with the exception of one, they embarked, forty-nine men in the bark of the governor; the contador and the commissary with a like number in another; captain Alonzo del Castillo, Andrès Dorantès and forty-eight men in the third; two

captains named Telles et Peñalosa, with forty-seven men in the fourth; and Cabeça de Vaca in the last with the comptroller and forty-nine men. The bay they quit was named Baya de los Cavallos.

At the end of seven days, they came to an isle, a little way from the land. There they took five canoes left by the Indians, and some provisions from their houses. Two leagues further they passed a strait between the isle and the main land, to which they gave the name of Saint Miguel. They continued in the direction of the river of Palms; their sufferings from hunger and thirst increasing. Whilst at anchor at a little isle, there was a violent storm which detained them six days. The salt water they were obliged to drink, killed some of the men. Again the dangers of the sea were encountered. After doubling a cape, they found a shelter on the other side. They followed some Indians to their houses which were near the shore, and were here refreshed with food and water. Half an hour after sunset the Indians made an unexpected attack. They fell upon the sick, invested the house where the governor was and wounded him in the face. The Spaniards then carried him to his bark. Fifty of the Spaniards remained on land and were attacked three times during the night. When it was calm they embarked and sailed three days. Seeing a canoe with Indians they applied to them for water. A christian and a negro went with them to get water and two Indians staid in their places. The two former never returned. Yet application was made for the restoration of the two Indians. This being refused, their comrades made an attack and the

Spaniards continued their voyage. In the evening a point of land was seen, and on the other side of it a very large river. The bark of Cabeça de Vaca going first in the river, he caused the anchor to be cast near an isle at its mouth. The governor entered a bay a little off. There Cabeça de Vaca joined him, taking sweet water where the river entered the sea. A north wind driving the vessels from the land, in two or three nights they were all separated. Afterwards Cabeça de Vaca saw two of the barks, one of which was that of the governor, and the other that of captains Peñalosa and Telles. On the 6th of November the bark of Cabeça de Vaca was driven on an island where they were kindly treated by the Indians.

Having determined to continue their voyage, they took off their clothes to get from the land their bark which was buried in the sand. In the attempt to put it afloat, the comptroller and two others were drowned. The Indians came to see them in their naked and distressed state, and at the request of Cabeça de Vaca carried the Spaniards to their village. The precaution was taken by them to have fires at different points on the way, to warm the Spaniards.

Cabeça de Vaca saw in the hands of an Indian some article which led him to enquire whence it was obtained, and was given to understand it was received from men like him. To these he sent two Indians and two Christians who met them coming. They were captain Andrès Dorantès, Alonzo Castillo and the people of their bark. They related that the 5th of that month their bark had run aground a league and a half from there. It was resolved with one accord to refit their bark. Hardly was it on the water

before it was overset. The resolution was then taken to winter at this place; and four Spaniards were sent to Panuco, accompanied by an Indian from the isle. Those who remained behind were constantly perishing. Five who were lodged near the shore are said to have eat one another, until only one survived, no person being there to devour him. Their names were Sierra, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palacios and Gozalo Ruyz. At length of eighty men only fifteen remained. The Indians being attacked by a disease of the stomach which carried off half of them, imagined that the Spaniards were the cause and resolved to kill them. They had come to execute this purpose when an Indian who was guarding Cabeça de Vaca told them not to think the Spaniards caused them to die, for if the Spaniards had such power they would stop their own men from dying. This reasoning led them to abandon their project. To the isle the Spaniards gave the name of the Isle du Malheur (Isla del Malhado). Until the end of April they remained on this island, or on the main land near. Thirteen then followed the coast. Hieronymo de Alanez and Lope d'Oviédo remained on the island. And the sickness of Cabeça de Vaca prevented him for some time from moving. When he got better, bad treatment made him fly and take refuge with the Indians of the nation Charruco.

The foregoing narrative is taken from the relation of Cabeça de Vaca, printed at Valladolid in 1555,*

* "Relation ét Naufrages D'Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, Valladolid, De L'imprimerie de Francisco Fernandez de Cordoue, 1555." It forms one of the volumes of "Voyages, Relations et Mémoires Originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de L'Amérique, publiés pour la premiére fois en Français, par H. Ternaux-Compans," at Paris in 1837.

who gives also some account of what happened to the vessels sent along the coast, of which Carvallo was captain. Five leagues from the place of embarkation, they perceived a bay which entered the land seven or eight leagues: it was the same that had been discovered by those on the land; the place where they saw the boxes with dead bodies. Three of the ships entered this port. The vessel which returned from Havana with a brigantine was seeking those on land for a year, and not finding them made sail for New Spain.

The port just mentioned, is spoken of by Cabeça de Vaca, as the best in the world. He describes it as six fathoms deep at the entrance, and five near the land; a hundred leagues from Havana, and precisely north of that place.

Cabeça de Vaca states that he remained near six years in Florida alone, in the midst of these Indians, and as naked as they were. A desire to carry with him Lope d'Oviédo, caused him to prolong his stay. De Alanez, his companion, had died soon after the departure of Alonzo del Castillo and the other Spaniards. Oviédo had often put off going, to the following year. At length they went with some Indians to a bay, a league broad and deep every where, recognised as that named the bay of Saint Esprit. On the other side of it, an Indian told them the thirteen Spaniards were all dead, except three; and if they wished it, they could see these three when the Indians, who had them, came upon the shore of that river to get nuts. Oviédo turned back to join the women of the Indians, with whom he had passed the bay. Ca-

beça de Vaca, unable to dissuade him from it, remained behind, alone. Two days after, the Indians who had Alonzo del Castillo and Andrès Dorantès, came to the river bank. An Indian, of a different nation, told Cabeça de Vaca to go to a particular place in the forest, and he would conduct him to his countrymen. This was done the next day. The Indians having informed Andrès Dorantès that a Christian had arrived, he came to see who it was, and was greatly astonished. Being asked where he was going, Cabeça de Vaca said his design was to pass into a country where there were Christians. Dorantès, Castillo and the negro Estevanico, determined to fly with him, but prayed him to wait six months, when the Indians would be going away in quest of fruit. This being agreed on, Cabeça de Vaca remained, and was given in slavery to the same Indian who already had Dorantès.

Castillo and Dorantès related, that after quitting the isle of Malhado, they found upon the coast a bark, which had been shipwrecked: it was that on which the contador and the friars were. After they had passed four rivers, very large and with very strong currents, this bark was pushed in the sea, at which time four of their men were drowned. They sailed to the bay, and crossed it with much trouble; fifteen leagues farther, they found another, where were some Indians, who, when they saw the Spaniards, went to the other shore. In a voyage of sixty leagues, two of the Spaniards had perished, besides the four who were drowned. Whilst occupied in finding means to cross the bay, an Indian came to them with a Christian,

who proved to be Figueroa, one of the four sent from the isle of Malhado. This man related to them how he had arrived at that place with his companions; that two of them, and an Indian, died of cold and hunger. With him the Indians had taken Mentés, who fled with the intention of going to Panuco, but was pursued by the natives and killed. Figueroa heard from the Indians of a Christian who had been with the Mariamès, and then got to the Quevenes. This Christian was Hernando de Esquivel, a native of Badajos, who had been with the commissary. From Esquivel, Figueroa learned the fate of the governor, the contador, and others. These last had caused their bark to be driven on shore between the rivers. Following the coast, they found on the bank that of Pamphilo de Narvaez and his men. The governor went in his bark to the great bay. There he had the company carried to the opposite shore. Then he came to seek the contador, the friars, and all the others. In the evening he would not go on land, but remained in his bark with the captain and a cabin boy, who were sick. At midnight a wind rose from the north, so violent that the bark, which had no anchor but a stone, was carried out to sea, and was not heard of afterwards. Those who were on land, followed the shore. Meeting a great expanse of water, they made a raft, with which they passed to the other side. Continuing their march, they came to the end of a forest, where they found some Indians, who, having perceived them, left their cabins for their canoes. This was in November. The Spaniards found wood, water, and on the shore some crabs and shell fish:

yet they were dying, one after another, of hunger and cold. Pentaja, whom Pamphilo de Narvaez (before he last went in the bark) had made his lieutenant in place of the contador, treated them badly. Soto Major, brother of Vasco Porcallo, a native of the isle of Cuba, turned against Pentaja, and gave him a blow, which killed him. Thus the number diminished. Those who remained alive, it is said, caused the dead to be roasted! The last who sank, was Soto Major. Esquivel, we are told, had him roasted, and lived on his body till the 1st of March, when one of the Indians, who had fled when the Spaniards arrived, came to see if all were gone, and carried off Esquivel. Andrès Dorantès, escaping to the Mariames, learnt from them that Esquivel having fled, they pursued and killed him. Yet Dorantès fled, after remaining with these people a few days. Castillo and Estevanico went into the interior of the country to the Yguazes. The three had got with the same tribe when Cabeça de Vaca joined them.

Six months had passed since he joined them; the time had arrived for the Indians to go; but there was a quarrel among them. The Spaniards were now obliged to separate, and did not meet each other again for a year. At length Cabeça de Vaca fled, and found his comrades. It was arranged that he should wait for them till the moon was full. It was now the 1st of September and the first of the moon. On the 13th, Andrès Dorantès and Estevanico arrived where he was, having left Castillo not far off, with the Anagados. These last Indians said, that farther on the shore, there was a nation named Camons, and

they had killed all the Spaniards who were in the bark with Peñalosa and Telles.

Two days after all four got together, they set off. In the evening, seeing some smoke, they went to the place where it arose. The Indians, who called themselves Avavares, received them kindly. Dorantès and the negro were lodged at the house of a physician: Cabeça de Vaca and Castillo, at the house of another Indian. The Spaniards gained greatly the favour of the Indians, by curing their sick. They went about with them in their journeys, and altogether were with the Avavares eight months. Then they went to the Maliacones, afterwards to the Arbadoes, and so on from tribe to tribe, until they saw mountains.

Through the narrative of Cabeça de Vaca, there is manifested a great fondness for the marvellous. Thus, after reminding the reader that he and his comrades were naked, he says, as they were not accustomed to being so, they changed their skin like serpents, twice a year. His account of many things should certainly be taken with some deduction. Yet, if he made the journey across the continent of North America, which is ascribed to him, he must have the credit of very great energy, and his enterprise be regarded as truly wonderful.

On the way, Andrès Dorantès received a large bell of brass or copper, with a figure on it. The next day the Spaniards crossed a mountain of seven leagues, and in the evening arrived at numerous cabins on the shore of a very pretty stream. The Indians, at this place, gave them many purses, contain-

ing bags of marcosite and antimony, which last was used to paint the face. The bell being shewn them, they said that in the place from which that came, there was found in the earth much of that metal, which was greatly esteemed, and that in that country there were fixed houses. Quitting these Indians, Cabeça de Vaca says they passed so great a number of people, of different languages, that his memory would not enable him to recall them. A party of Indians conducted them fifty leagues into a desert country, covered with very steep mountains, where they found no game, and suffered extremely from hunger. They crossed then a river, having water which came up to the breast, and were conducted in a plain at the foot of the mountains, where other Indians met and supplied them. The next people were said by these to be far off, and their enemies. Two women were furnished as guides, one of whom conducted Castillo and Estevanico to a river running between mountains, in a place where her father dwelt. The dwellings here were the first seen that merited the name of houses. After speaking with the inhabitants, Castillo returned to Cabeça de Vaca and Dorantès, bringing with them five or six Indians. The three then set out, and meeting the negro on the way with the Indians, went with him to their houses, by whom, after stopping a day, they were conducted to other fixed houses. This country was thickly peopled, and in it were the greatest number of cows. In answer to the question why they didn't sow maize, they said, two years before they had wanted water, and the moles ate the seed; that they couldn't cultivate it till there was a good deal of

rain. Being asked where they procured maize, they said on the coast where the sun set; that the whole country was filled with it, and the shortest course to get to it was the west.

After stopping two days, the Spaniards determined to seek the country of the maize; and to that end to go constantly towards the west, in which way they expected to pass over all the country between where they then were and the South sea. For some time they went back up the river. Then they crossed it, and at sunset found themselves in a great valley, in the midst of very high mountains. They came to a people with much maize in reserve, and fixed houses, some of which were constructed of earth, and others of mats of reed. Then they went a hundred leagues in the interior, still finding fixed houses, maize and beans. The natives gave them cloths of cotton, better than those of New Spain, and some corals and emeralds. The women here were treated with more regard than in any other place of the Indias that the Spaniards had seen. They wore chemises of cotton, which came down to their knees, but were cut before and tied with strings. Shoes, also, were worn by these Indians. This coast is described as the entrance to many provinces on the South sea. From it to the villages they had left, Cabeça de Vaca thought must be more than a thousand leagues.

They stopped three days in this village. A day's march from there was another, in which, in consequence of the river being high, they stopped fifteen days. During this time, Castillo saw on the neck of an Indian, a buckle of the belt of a sword, in which

was introduced a nail of iron. The Indian said it was brought in the country by men with beards, who had come on that river, and had horses, lances and swords; and who, with their lances, had killed two of the natives. The farther Cabeça de Vaca and his comrades advanced, the more was learnt of the men with lances. For a great distance the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, abandoning tillage, from fear of them. These miscalled Christians had penetrated into the country, destroyed the villages, and carried off great numbers of the natives in chains. From the place where Cabeça de Vaca first heard them spoken of, he reckoned to be eighty leagues to the river Petutan, the river on which Diego de Guzman arrived. In all the country where the mountains ended, he remarked traces of gold, iron and other metals. And where the houses were fixed, he describes it as warm even in January.

After seeing stakes to which horses had been tied, Cabeça de Vaca next morning took with him the negro and twelve Indians, followed the traces of the Christians, (as they were called,) and passed three villages where they had slept. He made ten leagues that day.

"Next day," says Cabeça de Vaca, "I met four Christians on horseback, who were amazed at seeing me clothed in so strange a manner, and in the midst of these Indians. They regarded me for a long time with such astonishment that they could not utter a word. I told them to conduct me to their chief, and we went a half league to the place where Diégo de Alcaraz, their captain, was. When I had spoken to him, he told me that he knew not what to do;

that for a long time he had not been able to take any Indians; and he did not know where to go, because his people had begun to suffer with hunger. I told him that Dorantès and Castillo were ten leagues from there, with many people that we were bringing with us. Immediately he sent them three cavaliers and fifty Indians; the negro serving for a guide. I asked him to certify the year, month and day in which he had found me, and in what condition, which he did. From this river to the city of the Christians, named Saint Miguel, the chief place of government of the province of New Spain, they count it to be 30 leagues."

"Two days after, Andrès Dorantès and Alonzo Castillo came with those who had been to seek them. They brought 600 persons belonging to a village, all the inhabitants of which had fled in the forests and concealed themselves in the interior for fear of the Christians. The natives who accompanied us, had caused all these Indians to come back and had conducted them where we were."

The Indians brought to Cabeça de Vaca a great quantity of maize, of which he took some and gave the rest to Alcaraz and his men to divide amongst them. He was much chagrined at the wish of these to make slaves of the Indians who brought this supply. Seeing the Indians afflicted, he told them to return home, tranquilize themselves, and sow their maize, but they refused to quit him, saying in his company they were not afraid. The others said they were masters of the country and must be obeyed; and farther that they were Christians like Cabeça de Vaca. This the Indians would not believe, but at length, with much trouble, he got them to return home. After which Alcaraz sent Cabeça de Vaca and his companions in a state of arrest to an alcaid

named Zebreros and two other individuals; carrying them in forests and deserts far from the Indians.

"Their design," says Cabeça de Vaca, "was to pursue the Indians whom we had just sent away composed, which they did for two days. They carried us in the mountains, wandering, in no way that could be traced, and without water. We thought we should all die of thirst. Seven men perished, and a great number of Indian friends whom the Christians had with them, lived only till the middle of the next day. In the evening we found water. After going about 25 leagues we arrived in a village of subdued Indians. The alcaid, who conducted us, left us there and went three leagues further to another village named Culiaçan, where Melchior Diez, alcaid mayor and captain of the province, resided."

The reception by this person, was very different from that by Alcaraz. He prayed them to remain in the country and use their influence with the Indians, to bring about a better state of things.

"We injoined on them," says Cabeça de Vaca, "to build churches and put crosses on them; for they had not yet constructed any. We caused them to bring the children of the principal inhabitants and we baptized them. Then the captain promised solemnly before *God*, not to make inroads into the country, not to permit what they had been doing, not to reduce into slavery any of the inhabitants of the country which we had pacified. He engaged himself to keep his promise until your majesty* and the governor Nuño de Guzman or the viceroy had decided on what would be fit for the service of God and the emperor. When the children were baptized, we set out for the City of Saint Miguel."

* The Emperor Charles the Fifth.

Fifteen days after, Alcaraz arrived bringing news of the new manner in which the Indians were acting; that now there was a large population, where before the country was abandoned; and they were doing as they had been told.

"We remained," says Cabeça de Vaca, "until the 15th of May in the City of Saint Miguel. We made a sojourn thus long, because, wishing to go to the City of Campostelle, the residence of the governor Nuño de Guzman, we were forced to go a hundred leagues in a country entirely deserted and hostile. We were obliged to travel with our people and twenty cavaliers who accompanied us, for forty leagues. From the place where they quitted us, we continued our march in company of six Christians, who were bringing 500 Indian slaves. Being arrived at Campostelle, we were well received by the governor, who gave us clothing. It took me a long time to accustom myself to wear clothes; and I could only sleep on the ground. Ten or twelve days after, we set out for Mexico. All the way we were well treated by the Christians: a great number came to us and thanked God that we had escaped from such great dangers. We arrived on Sunday, the eve of Saint James. The viceroy and the Marquis del Valle (Hernando Cortez) received us with the greatest pleasure and treated us very well. They gave us clothes, offered us whatever they possessed, and on the day of Saint James, had carousals and bull fights."

"After we had rested two months at Mexico, I desired to return to Spain. I was going to embark in October, when a storm arose and made the ship run aground. Then I determined to wait till winter was over; this being a very dangerous time for navigation. When part of the winter was passed, Andrès Dorantès and I went to Vera Cruz, where we waited till Palm Sunday to go to sea. We re-

mained 15 days waiting for wind. The ship went a great way in the water. I quitted it and embarked in another, but Dorantès remained in it. The 10th of April we sailed. Three vessels kept company together 50 leagues: one night the two others (which let in much water) disappeared, and we saw them no more."

The vessel in which Cabeça de Vaca was, arrived the 4th of May at Havana and waited there till the 2d of June for the other two. It then set out, not without apprehension of meeting the French who a few days before had taken three vessels in these parts. Twenty-nine days after having quitted Havana, they had made five hundred leagues, the distance which separates that isle from the Azores. The next day, in passing near the isle of Cuervo, they perceived a French vessel with a caravel in company loaded with negroes. The French would have taken them but for the sight of a Portuguese fleet under command of Diégo de Silveira. With this fleet, the Spanish vessel went to the isle of Terceira where they staid fifteen days for another ship which was coming from India, and was in company with three vessels escorted by a squadron. Then all set out together and entered the port of Lisbon, the 15th of August 1537.

The two Spaniards who were in company with Cabeça de Vaca in his long journey from Florida to Mexico returned to Spain also. The negro Estevanico remained in Mexico, and at a later period served as a guide to Francisco Marco de Nizza, in the expedition to discover Cibola. The Indians took him for an impostor, because he who was black announced himself as the envoy of a white people, and massacred him. This is mentioned in the preface to the Com-

mentaries of Cabeça de Vaca by a modern editor who remarks, that the veracity of the recital of Cabeça de Vaca is confirmed by Herrera (Decad. iii. liv. ii. ch. 4; decad. iv. liv. iv. ch. 4-8; decad. vi. liv. i. ch. 3-8,) and by all the Spanish historians, and adds that the Spaniards who arrived after Cabeça de Vaca into Florida found traces of his passage. As to this matter he refers to the History of New Spain by D. Matias de la Moto Padilla, and to the manuscript relation of the voyage of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, by D. Pédro de Castañeda Nagera, who several times speaks of the effect upon the Indians of the good treatment exercised by Cabeça de Vaca.

The manuscript relation just referred to, seems never to have been printed until it was published at Paris in 1838 by H. Ternaux-Compans, in the Collection of Original Voyages, Relations and Memoirs to serve for the history of the discovery of America. It is entitled,

"Relation du voyage de Cibola entrepris en 1540; ou l'on traite de toutes les peuplades qui habitent cette contrée, de leurs mœurs et coutumes, par Pédro de Castañeda de Nagera."

It appears from this relation that in the year 1530 Nuño de Guzman, who was president of New Spain, having raised an army of four hundred Spaniards and twenty thousand Indian allies, set out from New Spain, traversed the province of Tarasca, and arrived in that of Culiacan where his army stopped for a long time, during which period, Hernando Cortes arrived in Mexico with the new title of Marquis del Valle, and

great powers; that Guzman, being an enemy of Cortes, was unwilling to return, and determined to colonize the province of Culiacan; that he established himself at Xalisco, since Campostelle, and at Tonala, afterwards Guadalaxara, which two provinces at a later period formed the kingdom of Galicia; that eight years afterwards he was thrown into prison by an envoy from Spain, the licentiate of La Torre, who put himself at the head of the government of the province, and after his death Don Antonio de Mendoça, viceroy of New Spain, appointed to succeed him Francisco Vasquez Coronado, a gentleman of Salamanca, who was established at Mexico; that at this period three Spaniards named Cabeça de Vaca, Dorantès and Castillo Maldonado, and a negro, who had been shipwrecked with the fleet which Pamphilo de Narvaez conducted to Florida, came to Mexico by the province of Culiacan, after having traversed the country from one sea to the other; that the new governor proceeding to Culiacan, carried with him the negro and three Franciscan friars; that when the governor arrived at the province of Culiacan, he sent forward for discovery, the three friars and the negro, and as the latter could make himself understood by the natives of the country through which he had passed, the friars sent him on in advance of them, accompanied by some Indians; that on his arrival at Cibola, upon being interrogated as to the end of his coming into their country, he said, he preceded some white men (sent by a powerful prince and) very learned in heavenly things which they came to teach, and the Indians thought he was the spy of some na-

tion which wished to subjugate them. It was unaccountable to them that he should be from a country of white men who was himself black: he had besides asked for their wealth and their women, and it seemed to them hard to consent to it. They decided to kill him, which they did, without doing the least harm to those who accompanied him; upon which the friars very quickly retraced their steps. It was after this that the expedition was prepared for the discovery of Cibola, which is the chief subject of the relation of Pédro de Castañeda de Nagera. The City of Campostelle, the capital of New Galicia, a hundred leagues from Mexico, was the place from which the army was to set out for the expedition. Pedro de' Alarcon was to set out from Natividad, on the coast of the South sea, with two vessels, and then go to Xalisco and follow the army in its march along the coast. In the preface of the French editor, he says:

"I do not believe that any Spanish expedition has ever gone so far towards the northeast. Almost all those which took place afterwards, were directed towards the northwest. It is astonishing how little they profited by the indications given by Vasquez. I will cite only a single example of it. Alarcon discovered in 1539, that California was a presqu'île; and in 1732, that is to say, 200 years after, this point was still considered as uncertain."

It is time, however, to stop this digression from Cabeça de Vaca; the chief purpose of referring to the relation of Pédro de Castañeda, was to shew its confirmation of the statement of Cabeça de Vaca as to his arrival in Mexico, and the mode by which he got there; this has now been sufficiently done.

After the return of Cabeça de Vaca from Mexico, he remained in Spain till 1540, when he succeeded Don Pèdro de Mendoça as Adelantado and governor of the La Plata, touching which country his Commentaries were published at Valladolid in 1555, and republished at Paris in 1837 by H. Ternaux, in his Collection of Voyages, Relations and Memoirs. It seems from his commentaries, that he was not much more happy in this than in his former enterprise. As to his true character there is not an agreement amongst writers. Some of his cotemporaries, at least, appear to have considered him arbitrary. Amongst the volumes republished in the collection of H. Ternaux-Compans, is one entitled,

"Histoire véritable d'un voyage curieux, fait par Ulrich Schmidel de Straubing, dans l'Amérique ou le nouveau Monde, par le Brésil, et le Rio de la Plata, depuis l'année 1534, jusqu'en 1554. Où l'on verra tout ce qu'il a souffert pendant ces dix-neuf ans, et la description des pays et des peuples extraordinaires qu'il a visités. Ouvrage écrit par lui-même, et puplié de nouveau après corrections des noms de villes, de pays et de rivières, par Levinus Hulsius," published at Nuremberg in 1599.

From the fortieth chapter of this volume of Schmidel, the following is extracted:

"Our commander had no consideration for any body, and wished that every thing should bend before him. The entire army, in general assembly, decided unanimously that it was necessary to arrest him, send him to the emperor and render an account to his imperial majesty of his fine qualities, of the manner in which he had treated us, and of every thing that had passed. Three of the principal offi-

cers, to wit: the treasurer Alonso Cabrera, Don Francisco Mendoça and Grato Amiego, (Garcia Vanegas,) repaired to his house at the head of 200 soldiers and took possession of his person at a moment when he least expected it. This was in the month of April, on the day of Saint Mark in the year 1543. We kept him a prisoner for more than a year, until we had prepared and furnished with supplies a caravel, on board of which we sent him to Spain, with two officers. It was necessary to choose another chief to administer the country and command the army until we should receive orders from his majesty. Martin Dominique de Irala, who had already been governor, was then proclaimed general, for he was greatly loved by the troops."

The French editor in the preface prefixed by him to the edition of 1837, states that Cabeça de Vaca was acquitted, but he does not know what became of him after he recovered his liberty. He quotes from a writer who states that he died at Seville at a very advanced age, after having been put in the office of auditor in that city, but the editor adds that he does not know whether this is very exact.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the period from 1527 to 1534.

After the loss of one of the vessels sent forth from England in 1527, and the unsuccessful termination of the voyage the same year from Spain under Narvaez, neither kingdom seems to have been disposed, in any short time, to send other expeditions to the Atlantic coast of North America. Indeed, even on the southern continent, the emperor somewhat altered his manner of proceeding; the change, in respect to the province of Coro, was most important.

"A. Dalfinger and G. Seyler, who were at Madrid, the agents of Welser, rich merchants of Augsbourg, obtained from Charles the Fifth, who had often borrowed money from them in moments of necessity, the cession of this province in favour of their masters, to make the conquest of it, at their expense, on the following conditions. They bound themselves to equip four vessels, to carry three hundred Spaniards, and to build two cities and three fortresses in the two years succeeding their arrival. They were, besides, to send to this country fifty German miners, to bring to perfection the extraction of the mineral. The emperor ceded to them all the territory between the province of Santa Martha and the cape of Maracapana, relinquished to them four fifths of his fifth of the gold and silver, and gave them in absolute property twelve square leagues of land, to take where they would. He permitted them, moreover, to

reduce to slavery all the Indians who attempted to resist them. Charles the Fifth had just abandoned at this period the province of Santa Martha to Don Garcie de Lerma, a gentleman of his family. Don Garcie agreed with the Welsers to act in concert with them and to render assistance on occasion: they gave him the command of the first expedition, which was composed of three vessels. The Welsers named for governor and lieutenant governor, Ambroise Dalfinger and George Seyler, who, for a long time had served them well. The governor and lieutenant governor arrived in 1528, and presented to Ampies the order of the emperor to give up to them the command. He, forced to obey, and seeing himself so badly recompensed for his services, withdrew to Saint Domingo, where he died of chagrin, a short time after: however, the king of Spain had ceded by way of indemnity to him the isles of Curacoa, of Oruba and of Bonayre, which his descendants enjoyed to a later age. The Welsers were perhaps then the richest merchants in the world: they had advanced to Charles the Fifth near five tons of gold, and at the same time at which they sent an army at their expense to conquer Venezuela, they were dispatching vessels to the West Indias to extend their commercial relations and try to discover the Spice islands. The daughter of Barthéleme Welser, the chief of this house, the beautiful Philippina, married secretly the Archduke Ferdinand, son of Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, since emperor and nephew of Charles the Fifth; and the power of the Welsers was such that Charles dared not break the marriage."

This extract is from the preface of the French editor to the narration of the first voyage of Nicolas Federmann, mentioned before on page 283. It is not in place here, any more than in that preface, to relate the history of the dominion of the Germans in Vene-

zuela; a dominion which lasted about twenty-six years. A single circumstance will be mentioned; it is from the same preface:

"The Welsers repenting the confidence they had bestowed on Dalfinger, revoked his powers and put in his place George de Spire, whom Federmann accompanied as lieutenant. They arrived together at Coro in 1537, and set out soon after to make new discoveries to the south. George de Spire was to take the route east, Federmann that to the west, and they were to meet again on the coast of Barquisemeto. But he who sought only to render himself independent, continued his march towards the west. After a journey as toilsome as dangerous, he penetrated into the kingdom of New Granada and advanced to Bogota, where by the most singular chance, he met Sebastian de Benalcasar and Quesada, who had arrived there, the one by Peru, the other by the river of Madeleine. Each one asserted his pretensions to this province. Not being able to agree, they agreed to go together to Spain to have their rights adjudged. However, Federmann was never to return from America. His conduct towards his chief had dissatisfied the Welsers, who forgot all his services, and wished even to commence process against him; but he died a short time after, imbrued with disgust and chagrin."

Before the close of the period embraced by this chapter, Quito was conquered by the Spaniards. In Ternaux's Collection, there was republished at Paris in 1840,

"Histoire du Royaume de Quito par Don Juan de Velasco, natif de a royaume;" in two volumes.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the voyage of Jacques Carthier to Newfoundland in 1534.

Several voyages were made by Jacques Carthier, in the service of the King of France. On his first voyage,* he departed from the port of Saint Malo the 20th of April 1534, with two ships, and came the 10th of May to Newfoundland, where he entered into Saint Katharine's haven,† distant about five leagues from the cape of Buona Vista,‡ in latitude forty-eight degrees and a half. On the 21st of May, he sailed from that cape to the Island of Birds.§ On the 27th, he came to the bay of the Castles, and entered into a harbour about its entrance, called Carpunt, in latitude fifty-one degrees, where he stayed till the 9th of June. The writer of the account of this voyage, found in Hakluyt, describes the land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, as parted into islands, from the highest of which, "you may plainly see the two low islands that are next to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt, they count it twenty-five leagues." Jacques Carthier, it may be inferred, wrote the account himself, for the writer says, that going from Point Degrad, and entering into the bay to-

* This account is taken from the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection, p. 201 to 211.

† Now Catalina. See Hawkins's Quebec, p. 35.

‡ It still bears the name of Bona Vista.

§ Mr. Hawkins supposes this to be Funk island, about fourteen leagues from Cape Friels. See Hawkins's Quebec, p. 35.

wards the west by north, there is some doubt of two islands on the right side, one of which *he named* Saint Katharine's island. He describes the port of Castles as about fifteen leagues from this island, and about twelve and a half leagues from the port of Gutte; the road called White Sands, (Blanc Sablon,) as about fifteen leagues from the port of Balances; and Brest island and the Island of Birds, as south southwest from this road.

"A point of land being passed about a league from White Sand, there is," he says, "a port and passage found, called the Islettes, a better place than White Sand; and there is great fishing. From the said port of the Islettes unto another called Brest, the circuit is about ten leagues. This port is in latitude fifty-one degrees and fifty-five minutes."

Jacques Carthier entered the port of Brest the 10th of June, and on Saint Barnabas' day, (service being heard,) proceeded beyond that port towards the west; passing that day and the next through Islettes for about ten leagues beyond the port. Beyond them all he found a good haven, which he named Saint Anthony's haven. One or two leagues farther, on a little river toward the southwest coast, he set up a cross and named it Saint Seruan's port. A greater river, three leagues from this, wherein he took good store of salmon, he named Saint James's river. In this river Carthier saw a ship of Rochelle, which intended to have gone fishing at the port of Brest, but had passed it the night before, the mariners not knowing where they were. Carthier directed them to another port, a league more to the west (than the river of Saint

James,) which he, taking it to be one of the very best, had named James Carthier's Sound.

"If the soil were as good as the harbours are, it were," he remarks, "a great commodity, but it is not to be called the new land, but rather stones and wild crags, and a place fit for wild beasts, for in all the North island I did not see a cart load of good earth, yet went I on shore in many places; and on the island of White Sand, there is nothing else but moss and small thorns scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I believe that this was the land that God allotted to Cain."

On the 15th of June, Carthier sailed from Brest towards the south, to view the lands there seen, that had seemed to be two islands. He now knew it to be firm land, where was a great double cape, one above the other, and named it Double Cape. This cape is about twenty leagues from Brest. On the 16th, he sailed along the coast towards the southwest and by south about thirty-five leagues from Double Cape; and seeing on the hills some small cabins, sometimes called Granges, he called these the Hills of the Granges. A cape towards the southwest, he named the Pointed Cape. On the 17th, he came to a bay full of round islands, which, because of the resemblance, he named the Dove Houses. From the bay (Saint Julian) to a cape lying south by west, called Cape Royal, is seven leagues, and towards the west southwest side of this cape, is another called the Cape of Milk, between which two capes, in latitude forty-eight degrees and a half, is a great and very deep gulf. From the 18th until the 24th of June, the weather was so stormy, that no land could be seen.

Then was seen a cape, that, from Cape Royal, lies southwest about thirty-five leagues, and because it was Saint John's day, Carthier named it Cape Saint John.

On the 25th of June, he sailed in the bay northwest and by west about seven and a half leagues from the cape of St. John, and then southeast about fifteen leagues, and came to three islands, which he named the islands of Margaulx. About five leagues from them, on the west, was an island about two leagues in length and the same in breadth, with better soil than had been seen in the new land, and many bears and wolves on it, which he named Brion's island. About four leagues from it towards west southwest is the firm land. A cape named Cape Dolphin, is described as the beginning of good grounds.

On the 27th and 28th, Carthier went along the land, passing a cape called St. Peter's Cape, and an island named Alezai. The 29th and 30th, the wind blowing south and by east, he sailed westward without any sight of land till evening. The cape then seen was called Cape Orleans. Another, seven leagues from it, lying north and by east, was called Wild Men's Cape. A river wherein boats of wild men were seen was called the River of Boats. Carthier entered this river, and was pleased with the temperature of the country and the quality of the land: there was here a great change from what had been seen before; nothing was now wanting but good harbours. He describes himself as being on the 3d of July in a gulf or bay, the midst of which is forty-seven degrees and a half in latitude. A cape south

was called the Cape of Hope, from the hope that a passage would be found there; a harbour on the north side was named St. Martin's. Here Carthier's vessels stayed from the 4th of July till the 12th, during which time he and his men visited the Bay des Chaleurs, so called from its great heat, and trafficked with the natives.

On the 12th of July, Carthier went from St. Martin's creek along the sea coast eastward about eighteen leagues, to the Cape of Prato, near which he anchored that night. He went thence to a river five or six leagues northward, where, because of the badness of the weather, he stayed in harbour till the 25th. The natives here were seen fishing for mackerel, of which there was great plenty. Carthier and his men went on land: the natives received them in a friendly manner, and traded with them.

"Upon the 24th of the month," the account proceeds,* "we caused a fair high cross to be made of the height of thirty foot, which was made in the presence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the said haven, in the midst whereof we hanged up a shield with three *Floure de Luces* in it, and in the top was carved in the wood with antique letters this posy, VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE. Then before them all we set it upon the said point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it up. So soon as it was up, we altogether kneeled down before them, with our hands toward Heaven, yielding God thanks; and we made signs unto them, showing them the Heavens, and that all our salvation dependeth only on Him which in them dwelleth: whereat they showed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then upon the cross. And

* 3 Hakluyt, p. 209.

after we were returned to our ships, their captain, clad in an old bear's skin, with three of his sons, and a brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boats, but they came not so near us as they were wont to do: there he made a long oration unto us, showing us the cross we had set up, and making a cross with two fingers; then did he show us all the country about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that we should not set up any cross without his leave. His talk being ended, we showed him an axe, faining that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listened, for by little and little he came near our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boat, took hold on theirs and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our captain did straightways assure them, that they should have no harm, nor any injury offered them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eat and drink. Then did he show them with signs that the cross was but only set up to be as a light and leader which ways to enter into the port, and that we would shortly come again and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, and afterward bring them to the said port again; and so we cloathed two of them in shirts and coloured coats, with red caps, and put about every one's neck a copper chain, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old cloaths to their fellows that went back again, and we gave to each one of those three that went back, a hatchet and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone and had told the news unto their fellows, in the afternoon there came to our ships five boats of them, with five or six men in every one, to take their farewell of those two we had detained to take with us, and brought them some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand, making signs that they would not remove the cross we had set up."

On the 25th of July, Carthier, coming out of the river, sailed east northeast. He proceeded along the land which lay southeast and northwest till the 29th, when he saw another cape where the land began to bend toward the east. This cape was in latitude forty-nine degrees and a half: he named it Cape St. Aluise, because it was his day. From St. Aluise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteen leagues, the land begins to bend northwest.

Carthier went along the land to the latitude of fifty degrees, still bending northwest. From the 1st to the 5th of August, he was between high lands, distant from one to the other about fifteen leagues: the middle between them both was fifty degrees and a half in latitude. Because, on St. Peter's day he entered this strait, he named it St. Peter's Strait. A cape lying southward, where the land begins to bend southwest he named Cape Tiennot, after the captain of the people who were on that cape, some of whom came to the ships. It was now determined to proceed homeward. On the 15th of August, he departed from the port of White Sands, and on the 5th of September was again at the port of St. Malo. After the return of Carthier, the land which he had visited was, by the French, generally called New France.

CHAPTER X.

Of the second voyage of Jacques Carthier, wherein he explored the St. Lawrence in 1535.

Jacques Carthier commenced his second voyage from St. Malo, on the 19th of May, with three ships. There was stormy weather on the way, which separated the ships. That of Carthier arrived in Newfoundland the 7th of July, and came to the island of Birds in forty-nine degrees forty minutes. On the 8th he came to the port of White Sands in the bay of Castles, where on the 26th he was joined by the other two ships. On the 29th, sailing along the northern coast, that runs northeast and southwest, he passed two islands which he called St. William's islands; they are described as twenty leagues or more from the port of Brest. On the 30th he sailed westward to other islands which he named St. Martha's islands. The last of July, he came to other islands distant about seventeen leagues and a half from St. German's cape; and seven leagues further to Cape Thiennot. Seven leagues and a half beyond this cape, he found amidst four islands that stretch into the sea, a haven which he named St. Nicholas haven, where he rested till the 7th of August, having in the mean time set up on one of the islands a wooden cross. Charlevoix says, this harbour was on the north shore, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and he

describes it as being in latitude forty-nine degrees twenty-five minutes, and as the only place which preserved to his time the name originally given by Jacques Carthier.* On the 7th Carthier came toward land on the south side, toward Cape Rabast distant from the haven just mentioned about twenty leagues north northeast and south southwest.

"The next day there rose a stormy and contrary wind, and because we could find no haven there toward the south, thence we went coasting along toward the north, beyond the above said haven about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulf, full of islands, passages, and entrances, toward what wind soever you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulf, there is a great island that is like to a cape of land, stretching somewhat further forth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is a hill fashioned as it were an heap of corn. We named the said gulf Saint Lawrence his bay. The twelfth of the said month we went from the said Saint Lawrence his bay, or gulf, sailing westward, and discovered a cape of land toward the south, that runneth west and by south, distant from the said Saint Lawrence his bay, about five and twenty leagues. And of the two wild men which we took in our former voyage, it was told us, that this was part of the southern coast, and that there was an island, on the southerly part of which is the way to go from Honguedo (where the year before we had taken them,) to Canada, and that two days journey from the said cape and island, began the kingdom of Saguenay, on the north shore extending toward Canada; and about three leagues athwart the said cape, there is about a hundred fathom water."†

* Hawkins's Quebec, p. 39, 40.

† From Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 213.

The name of St. Lawrence appears to have been given by Carthier to a bay, between the island of Anticosti and the northern shore, and in after time to have been extended to the whole of the gulf and river.

On the 15th of August, having passed the strait, he named a land toward the south the island of the Assumption. The English afterwards called this island Anticosti, as being somewhat similar in sound to its Indian name Natiscotec.* The countries lying north of it appeared to be higher than those south.

"We bended toward the north purposing to go and see the land we before had spied. Being arrived there, we found the said lands as it were joined together, and low toward the sea. And the northerly mountains that are upon the said low lands stretch east and west and a quarter south. Our wild men told us that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence cometh the red copper, of them named Caignetclaze. There is between the southerly lands and the northerly about thirty leagues distance, and more than two hundred fathom depth."†

The breadth of the gulf seems to have been accurately determined by Carthier. Cape Rosier, a small distance to the north of the point of Gaspé is the place which marks the opening of the river; and estimated from this cape the breadth is ninety miles. Measured from the eastern extremity of Gaspé, the width is one hundred and twenty miles, which corresponds with what Carthier says in his eleventh chapter,

* Hawkins's Quebec, p. 40, 41.
† From Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 213.

to wit: that the distance from one side to the other is about thirty-five or forty leagues.*

"The said men did moreover certify unto us, that there was the way and beginning of the great river of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which river the further it went the narrower it came, even unto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so far upwards, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boats. Our captain hearing their talk, and how they did affirm no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceed any further, till he had seen and noted the other lands and coast toward the north, which he had omitted to see from Saint Lawrence his gulf, because he would know, if between the lands toward the north any passage might be discovered."†

On the 18th of August the captain caused his ships to wend back and bend toward the other shore. The next day, he came to seven very high islands which he named The Round Islands. On the 21st he came to the island of Assumption; and on the 24th to a haven on the southerly coast about eighty leagues from the Round islands. This haven is over against three flat islands which he named St. John's islets.

About fifteen leagues from this haven, towards the west and west southwest are three islands, over against which the two wild men said was a river that run into the country of Saguenay; and about five leagues beyond this river was another island on the north side. On the 6th of September, Carthier as-

* Hawkins's Quebec, p. 40.
† Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 213.

cended the river about fifteen leagues, to an island about three leagues long and two broad, which, from the filbert trees on it, he called the Isle aux Coudres, or Island of Filberts. On the 7th, he went seven or eight leagues higher to fourteen islands, one of which, twelve leagues long and five broad, he called the Isle of Bacchus. It is now the Island of Orleans, and greatly enhances the beauty of the prospect from the high grounds of Quebec.* Here, says Carthier, "the country of Canada beginneth." He went on land to see the natives, and took with him the two that he had, whose names were Targnoagny and Domagaja. The next day the Lord of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, came to the ship where those two natives were and spoke with them. They told him what they had seen in France, and the good entertainment they had had, at which he seemed to be very glad, and praying the captain to reach out his arm, kissed it and laid it about his own neck, to shew that he made much of him. Then the captain distributed bread and wine to the lord and his company, with which they were much pleased.

Carthier passed up the river about ten leagues farther, at the end of which was a goodly and pleasant sound, where was a little river and haven fit to harbour the ships in, which he named Santa Croix, (the Holy Cross.) Near to it was a village called Stadacona, of which Donnacona was lord. Mr. Hawkins thinks there can be no doubt that the "goodly and pleasant sound," above mentioned, is the beautiful basin of Quebec, and that Santa Croix is the little

* Hawkins's Quebec, p. 43.

river St. Charles to the north of the city. His idea is, that Stadacona stood on that part of Quebec now covered by the suburbs of St. Roch, and part of those of St. John, looking towards the St. Charles.*

The two natives refused to accompany Carthier any further up the river. Nevertheless, Carthier, with a pinnace and two boats sailed up it from the 19th until the 28th, and "saw as goodly and pleasant a country as possibly can be wished for." He had stopped on the way at a place called Hochelai, about twenty-five leagues from Canada, where the river being narrow and running swiftly, was dangerous for that reason, and also because of the large stones in it. On the 28th of September he came to a great lake five or six leagues broad and twelve long, at the head of which were four or five branches, which, about fifteen leagues beyond, all came into one. This was the Lake St. Peter.†

It not being possible for the pinnace to go further, Carthier, having put on the boats as much as they could well bear, proceeded with the boats forty-five leagues, to a point near the town of Hochelaga.

It was on the 2d of October that he arrived at this place, supposed by Mr. Hawkins‡ to have been about six miles from the town, below the current of St. Mary. The next day, Carthier, having gorgeously attired himself, went to see the town and the mountain near it, which he named Mount Royal; a name since extended to the city beneath and to the fertile island. All of it is now called Montreal. The city which preceded that of Montreal is thus described:

* Hawkins's Quebec, p. 45, 6. † Id. p. 49. ‡ Id. p. 50.

"The City of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three courses of rampires, one within another, framed like a sharp spire, but laid across above. The middlemost of them is made and built as a divert line, but perpendicular. The rampires are framed and fashioned with pieces of timber, laid along on the ground, very well and cunningly joined together after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entry thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes and bars. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to run along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the town about fifty houses, about fifty paces long and twelve or fifteen broad, built all of wood, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any board, very finely and cunningly joined together. Within the said houses, there are many rooms, lodgings and chambers. In the midst of every one, there is a great court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common together: then do the husbands, wives and children each one retire themselves to their chambers. They have also on the top of their houses certain garrets, wherein they keep their corn."*

After experiencing a very kind reception from the inhabitants of Hochelaga, Carthier returned on the 4th of October to his pinnace, and the next day departed with his pinnace and boats for Santa Croix, where he arrived on the 11th, and the day after was visited by the natives. In the description of their usages it is said,

"They keep and observe the rites of matrimony, saving that every one weddeth two or three wives, which (their husbands being dead) do never marry again, but for the

* Hakluyt's Collection, vol. 3, p. 220.

death of their husbands wear a certain black weed all the days of their life, besmearing all their faces with coal dust and grease mingled together as thick as the back of a knife, and by that they are known to be widows."*

In December, that pestilence, the scurvy, seems to have been among the people of Stadacona, and to have spread to the French. So that by the middle of March, of one hundred and ten persons eight were dead, and the rest so sick that it was thought they would not recover, except three or four. The captain then walking out met Domagara, who had been very sick, and was now cured by drinking a decoction of the bark and leaves of sassafras, and putting the dregs upon his legs. The French tried this remedy, and found it very efficient both for the scurvy and some other diseases.†

Hitherto the relations between Carthier and the Indians had been those of amity and confidence; so much so that Donnacona, on the 17th of September, presented him a female child (his sister's) about ten or twelve years old, and two male children yet younger; and when he was at Hochelai, one of the chief lords offered him two of his children, a daughter seven or eight years old, and a son only two or three, of which Carthier only took the former, considering the other too young. Now, however, some suspicion and distrust seem to have arisen. And Carthier determined to take some prisoners to France to shew to the king. It may be questioned whether this determination was not as much the cause as the effect of the course of the natives. On the 3d of May, being

* Hakluyt's Collection, vol. 3, p. 223. † Id. p. 225, 6, 7.

Holyrood day, he had a cross of thirty-five feet in height set up, under which was hung a shield, whereon was the arms of France, and over them was written *Franciscus primus, Dei Gratia, Francorum Rex regnat.* The same day, many of the natives visited the French, and Carthier had Donnacona, Targnoagny and Domagia, and two more of the chief men taken. At this Donnacona's men were greatly distressed, but they were told that Donnacona would be rewarded by the King of France, and return to them again in ten or twelve months. They returned thanks for this, and said if it should be so they would give many things.

On the 6th of May, Carthier departed from the port of Santa Croix. It was the 21st, before he could leave the Isle of Filberts. Then he passed to Honguedo; a passage not before discovered. On the 16th of June, he went from St. Peter's islands, and came to Cape Ruse, to a port called Rognoso. This port was left by Carthier the 19th of June; and he had so good a voyage that on the 6th of July 1536, he was again at St. Malo.

CHAPTER XI.

Of a voyage of Mr. Hore and others from England to the northwest in 1536.

The following account is from the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection, page 129 to 131. Mr. Biddle, in his Memoir of Cabot, page 278, referring to this voyage, says it evidently contemplated an adventurous range of research. Members of the bar will be attracted by the name of Mr. Rastall, Sergeant Rastall's brother:

"The master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the study of cosmography, in the twenty-eighth year of King Henry the Eighth, and in the year of our Lord 1536, encouraged divers gentlemen and others, being assisted by the king's favour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discovery upon the northwest parts of America: wherein his persuasions took such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the inns of court and of the chancery, and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: Mr. Weekes, a gentleman of the west country, of five hundred marks by the year living; Mr. Tucke, a gentleman of Kent; Mr. Tuckfield; Mr. Thomas Buts, the son of Sir William Buts, knight, of Norfolk, which was lately living, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation; Mr. Hardie; Mr. Biron; Mr. Carter; Mr. Wright; Mr. Rastall, Sergeant

Rastall's brother; Mr. Ridley, and divers others, which all were in the Admiral, called the Trinity, a ship of seven score tons, wherein Mr. Hore himself was embarked. In the other ship, whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and virtuous gentleman, one Mr. Armigil Wade, afterwards clerk of the councils of King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth, father to the worshipful Mr. William Wade, now clerk of the privy council; Mr. Oliver Dawbeney, merchant of London; Mr. Joy, afterward gentleman of the King's Chapel, with divers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the Trinity and the Minion, were about six score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike manner at Gravesend, and after the receiving of the sacrament, they embarked themselves in the end of April 1536.

"From the time of their setting out from Gravesend, they were very long at sea, to wit, about two months, and never touched any land until they came to part of the West Indias about Cape Breton, shaping their course thence northeastwards, until they came to the island of Penguin, which is very full of rocks and stones, whereon they went, and found it full of great fowls, white and grey, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their eggs. They drove a great number of the fowls into their boats upon their sails, and took up many of their eggs: the fowls they flayed, and their skins were very like honey combs full of holes, being flayed off: They dressed and eat them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of hares both black and white, of whom they killed some, and took them for no bad food.

"Mr. Oliver Dawbeney, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told Mr. Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, these things following, to wit: That after their arrival in Newfoundland, and having

been there certain days at anchor, and not having yet seen any of the natural people of the country, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boat with savages of those parts, rowing down the bay toward them, to gaze upon the ship and our people, and taking view of their coming aloft, he called to such as were under the hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the natural people of the country that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came up, and took view of the savages rowing toward them and their ship, and upon the view they manned out a ship boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship boat making towards them, returned with main force and fled into an island that lay up in the bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the island, and the savages fled and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a bear on a wooden spit left at the same by the savages that were fled.

"There in the same place, they found a boot of leather garnished on the outward side of the calf with certain brave trails, as it were of raw silk, and also found a certain great warm mitten; and these carried with them, they returned to their ship, not finding the savages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soil, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of fir and pine trees.

"And further the said Mr. Dawbeney told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small relief, more than that they had from the nest of an osprey, that brought hourly to her young great plenty of divers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seek to relieve themselves of raw herbs and roots that they sought on the main: but the famine increasing, and the relief of herbs being to little purpose to satisfy their insatiable hunger, in the fields and deserts here

and there, the fellow killed his mate while he stooped to take up a root for his relief, and cutting out pieces of his body whom he had murdered, broiled the same on the coals and greedily devoured them.

"By this mean the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; and it fortuned that one of the company driven with hunger to seek abroad for relief found out in the fields the savor of broiled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellows to starve, enjoying plenty as he thought: and this matter growing to cruel speeches he that had the broiled meat, burst out into these words: If thou wouldst needs know, the broiled meat that I had was a piece of such a man's buttock. The report of this brought to the ship, the captain found what became of those that were missing, and was persuaded that some of them were neither devoured with wild beasts, nor yet destroyed with savages; and hereupon he stood up and made a notable oration, containing, how much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distress done for them that called upon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no less than in all former time it had been, and added, that if it had not pleased God to have helped them in that distress, that it had been better to have perished in body and to have lived everlastingly, than to have relieved for a poor time their mortal bodies and to be condemned everlastingly, both body and soul, to the unquenchable fire of Hell. And thus having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to look upon their miserable present state, and for his own mercy to relieve the same. The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather than all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed:

And such was the mercy of God, that the same night there arrived a French ship in that port, well furnished with victual, and such was the policy of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and victualing them, they set sail to come into England.

"In their journey they were so far northwards, that they saw mighty islands of ice in the summer season, on which were hawks and other fowls to rest themselves, being weary of flying over far from the main. They saw also certain great white fowls with red bills and red legs, somewhat bigger than herons, which they supposed to be storks. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall about the end of October. From thence they departed unto a certain castle belonging to Sir John Luttrell, where Mr. Thomas Buts and Mr. Rastall and other gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: After that they came to the Earl of Bath at Bath, and thence to Bristol, so to London. Mr. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and misery, that Sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their son, until they found a secret mark which was a wart upon one of his knees, as he told me, Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, himself, to whom I rode two hundred miles only to learn the whole truth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the only man now alive that was in this discovery.

"Certain months after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to King Henry the Eighth: The king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distress of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so moved with pity, that he punished not his subjects, but of his own purse made full and royal recompence unto the French.

"In this distress of famine, the English did somewhat relieve their vital spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certain wooden cups, out of which they had drunk their aqua composita before."

CHAPTER XII.

Of the expedition of Ferdinand de Soto to Florida in 1539, and his march thence to the Mississippi; his death in 1541; and the subsequent progress of his troops.

On Ferdinand de Soto, who had served with reputation under Pizarro in Peru, Charles the Fifth conferred the government of Cuba, with the rank of General of Florida, and the title of Marquis of the lands which he should conquer there. After making a short stay at Havana, he sailed thence on the 18th of May 1539. A letter of the 9th of July following, from De Soto to the municipal body of the City of Santiago of the Isle of Cuba, and a relation of Luis Hernandez de Biedma, who went as factor to the expedition, are in the volume of Pieces on Florida, published at Paris in 1841, in Ternaux's Collection of Voyages, Relations and Memoirs. From these sources, and from the account of the expedition found in the volume of Roberts, mentioned already on page 295, this chapter is derived.

De Soto is stated in one account to have sailed with nine vessels, having on board three hundred and fifty horse and nine hundred foot, together with a great number of mariners; in another he is stated to have disembarked six hundred and twenty men and two hundred and twenty-three horses. He reached the coast of Florida on the 25th, and anchored in

Baya Honda: the Bay of Spiritu Sancto. The Spaniards took possession of a village on this bay, which the Indians deserted on their arrival. On one side of the village was a sort of temple to an idol. The idol was placed over the entrance, and was in the shape of a bird, made of wood and gilded over.

De Soto sent Baltasar de Gallegos with forty cavaliers and as many foot soldiers, to seek a countryman who he learnt was with one of the caciques. On the way, they met nine Indians coming with the European. He had in his hand a bow and arrows, and was naked and painted like the Indians.

"This man, whose name was John Ortiz, was a native of Seville, and born of a noble family. He had served in the expedition under Narvaez about twelve years before, and had the good fortune to escape back again to Cuba. Hence he returned to Florida in a brigantine, by the desire of the lady of Narvaez, in quest of her husband. At his arrival upon this coast, meeting with some Indians, who pretended to have a letter for him from Narvaez, he and another were rash enough to land, at their invitation, in opposition to the advice of the people on board. The Indians immediately surrounded them, killed his companion, who offered to make resistance, and carried off Ortiz to their chief, called Ucita; none on board daring to land, to give him any assistance. The Indian sentenced him to be burnt alive, which had surely been his fate, but that a sudden emotion of pity touched the heart of Ucita's daughter, who prevailed upon her father to give him his life. Ortiz was then set to guard the temple above mentioned from the wolves, which often came to carry off the bodies that were laid there. It happened, that these animals seized the body of the son of an Indian of considerable rank: Ortiz pursued

them, and had the good fortune to kill one of the wolves, and recover the carcase. This action endeared him to Ucita, who began to treat him more kindly. Three years passed thus, when an Indian chief, called Mocoso, attacked Ucita, burnt his village, and forced him to fly to another place he had by the sea-shore. These wild people have a custom of sacrificing the lives of strangers that fall into their hands to evil spirits, whom they suppose to be pleased with such victims. This fate Ucita destined Ortiz to; but the same girl, who had saved him from the fire, counselled him to fly to Mocoso, who, she said, would treat him well, and wanted to see him. As he was unacquainted with the way, she put him into the road, and returned unperceived herself. Ortiz travelled till he came to a rivulet on the frontier of the dominions of Mocoso, where he found two Indians fishing. As these people were at war with those he came from, he was apprehensive they would treat him as an enemy, and the more so because he was unable to explain his design, and what brought him thither to them, neither understanding the language of the other; to prevent this, he ran to the place where their arms lay, and instantly seized them. The Indians, alarmed, flew immediately to the town, whence their cries presently brought numbers of Indians, who surrounded Ortiz, and were upon the point of killing him, in vain crying out that *he was the Christian* of Ucita; when, providentially, an Indian joined them who happened to understand his language, and appeased his companions by explaining the words of Ortiz to them. Upon this, four of the savages were sent off with the news to Mocoso, who received Ortiz very cordially, and promised, if any Christians should arrive in that country, he would give him leave to retire with them. Among these Indians Ortiz resided for the course of twelve years, and had long despaired of ever seeing another European, when Mocoso informed him that the Christians had made

a descent at the town of Ucita. Ortiz, at first, showed a difficulty of believing him; but the cacique seriously insisted upon the truth of this intelligence, and permitted him to go to join them; adding, that if he did not, he must blame himself alone when the Christians were gone, since the promise made to him had been performed. Ortiz thanked the Indian in the gratefullest terms, who, at his departure, sent several of his people to escort him; and these were they whom the above mentioned party, from Soto's army, met."*

The little party that came to escort Ortiz home did not escape being attacked; one of them was wounded; and a horseman was running with his lance at their companion, when he cried out: "Gentlemen, I am a Christian, do not kill me nor these poor people who have given me life." He and those with him were then taken by the cavaliers on their horses; on his arrival in the camp, the general presented him with clothes, arms, and a good horse. He had been so long accustomed to the Indian language, that it was more than four days before he could speak two consecutive words of any other. If he spoke one in Spanish, he would add four or five in the language of the Indians.

De Soto also dispatched Gallegos with eighty lancers and one hundred foot soldiers to reconnoitre the country. They first marched west; then northeast. Arriving near a cacique named Hurripacuxi, distant twenty leagues from the coast, he sent some Indians to treat with the Spaniards. De Soto writes, that after having concluded with the Spaniards, he did not

* Roberts, p. 35 to 37.

keep his promises; and that for this reason, Gallegos caused him to be arrested, with seventeen Indians, among whom were some chiefs. Roberts states that the Spanish officer put the Indian messengers in irons and sent information of his proceedings to De Soto, who leaving part of his men to guard the post, marched with the rest and joined Gallegos. After passing with some difficulty a very rapid river, they arrived at a small village called Cale or Ocale or Etocale, which was found deserted. Here they stopped seven or eight days and took three or four Indians to serve as guides in the province of Apalache. Leaving Cale on the 11th of August, Soto took the direction of New Spain, marching along at a distance of ten or twelve leagues from the coast. He lay first at Hara, next at Potano, then at Utimana, and on the fourth day at a place called by the Spaniards Malapaz, whence he came to a village named Aguacalecuen. Here it was intimated to Soto, that Narvaez had not penetrated into the country beyond where they now were, but the general determined to go farther. The Spaniards stopped here five or six days and possessed themselves of ten or twelve women, one of whom was daughter of the cacique. The cacique presented himself in a friendly way, but he too was carried off. Leaving Aguacalecuen on the 20th of September, in five days Soto arrived at Napetaca. About this place the Indians attempted to regain their cacique; Biedma puts the number of the Indians at one hundred and fifty; Roberts, it will be perceived, states the number larger; his account is as follows:

"John Ortiz learned from an Indian, that they had resolved to assemble and attack the army, in order to set their chief at liberty by force. The general being apprised of this, ordered all the infantry and cavalry to arm, and to remain so prepared in their quarters, not to give the Indians any suspicion, who, to the number of four hundred, in arms, were posted in a wood a little way from the camp. Thus stationed, they sent two men to demand their cacique of the governor; who, taking him by the hand, and talking to him, the better to satisfy the Indians, advanced near the place where they had posted themselves; but, observing them to be preparing for battle, he commanded an alarm to be sounded; at which all the Spaniards rushed out with such fury, that the Indians, surprised and thrown into confusion, thought only of flight. Forty of them were killed on the spot by the spear, and the rest threw themselves into two neighbouring lakes, where the Spaniards fired upon them as they were swimming, though to little effect. Soto not having people enough for both, surrounded only one of the lakes, out of which the Indians endeavoured to escape by swimming softly to the banks in the night, covering their heads with water-lilies; but the horse, perceiving the water to be put in motion, pushed up to the belly in the lake, and drove them back again. A great part of the night having thus passed, without any repose on either side, Ortiz called out to them to submit to the governor, since there was no possibility of escaping: which they at last agreed to do, compelled by the severe cold they felt in the water. They all surrendered, except about twelve, who resolutely determined rather to die in the lake; but the Indians of Paracoxi threw themselves in, dragged them out by the hair, and they were immediately chained together. All the rest were divided amongst the Spaniards, to serve as slaves. The misery of this slavery was so intolerable to those savages, that they resolved to free themselves from

it; and, for that end, one of them, who acted as interpreter, undertook to strangle the general whilst he was talking with him, by throwing both hands at once suddenly upon his neck; but, in the instant of attempting it, Soto struck the Indian upon the face so furiously, as, in a moment, to cover it over with blood. All the Indians were roused at this signal, and a terrible battle ensued; each savage using for a weapon, the club with which they bruised the maize, or the sword or lances of their masters that happened to lie near them, and managed them with as much dexterity as the Spaniards themselves could do; till, at last, after having given wonderful proof of valour and intrepidity, they were overpowered by numbers, and the whole body, consisting of about two hundred, taken; several of whom were fastened to stakes, and shot to death by the arrows of the Paracoxi Indians."*

The Spaniards marched from Napetaca on the 23d of September, and in a province named Veachile, or Uzachil, passed a river on which were some villages that had been abandoned. In scouring the country, about one hundred Indians were picked up and divided among the soldiery, to be used for servile offices. Of these, we are told that "the chain they were fastened with, by the neck, did not much hinder them;" and that "as for the women and children they were suffered to go unchained, whenever they had come sixty or a hundred miles from their respective homes."

The general proceeded to a village named Aguile, or Axille, on the frontier of the province of Apalache, separated from the former by a river. Over this the Spaniards threw a bridge built of a great number of barks attached to one another. They crossed the ri-

* Roberts, p. 39, 40.

ver with much trouble; for the Indians on its bank forbid its passage. When the Spaniards had gotten over, the Indians went to a neighbouring village named Ivitachuco. To this they set fire as the Spaniards were approaching it.

The Spaniards having arrived at a village called Iniahico, distant a hundred and ten leagues from the port where the rest of the men had been left, went nine miles to the place on the coast where Narvaez had his barks constructed. They saw a great number of bones of horses, and recognized the place where a forge had been established. The Indians related that some other Christians had built barks in this place.

Juan de Añasco, by the orders of the general, went back to the port and sent thence the troop to this place, and brought hither the foot soldiers in two brigantines. He arrived at Paleche the 25th of December. After the arrival of the brigantines, the governor made them set out again to seek a neighbouring port. Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca having embarked for this purpose, came in a province called Ochuse to a good port; described as sixty leagues from Paleche. When Maldonado returned after an absence of two months, the governor told him that he was going to seek a country on another sea. Maldonado was directed to go to Cuba with the brigantines (on board of which was Doña Isabella de Bobadilla, wife of the governor,) and to come back with them to the river of Saint Esprit. De Soto left Paleche the 3d of March 1540, and marched towards the north to search for gold; being induced to do so

by information received from a young Indian taken at Napetaca. The men were ordered to take provision for sixty leagues of desert, which they were obliged, we are told, to carry themselves, "as the Indian prisoners had for the most part perished through the winter's fatigue." In five days they came to a very rapid river on which they could not construct a bridge because of the force of the current. They made a canoe; and it took them a day and a half to cross in this. They arrived on the 11th of March at Acapachequi, or Capachiqui, and on the 21st at Toalli, having been a good deal annoyed on the way by the Indians. They encountered two rivers over which they had to make bridges of pine trees attached to one another; came to a province named Otoa, where they found the most considerable village that they had yet seen; and were five or six days crossing a province named Chesi. They marched then three days without finding any habitation, and came to a province called Altapaha.

"We found there," says Biedma, "a river which does not run towards the south, like those we had already passed; it came from from the east and enters the sea on the coast where the Licentiate Lucas d'Aillon arrived."

The troops proceeded to Ocute and to Cofoqui, the caciques whereof furnished eight hundred Indians to carry provisions and baggage. The guides took immediately the direction of the east. The Spaniards marched so for three days, and then in half a league came to a large river. Juan de Añasco being told to descend it in the direction of the south south-

east, returned in four days, saying he had found a little hamlet and some provisions. The general proceeded thither and stayed there three or four days.

"We set out," continues Biedma, "for the village of Cofitachyque, which was in two days march from this hamlet, situate on the bank of a river which we believed to be that of Saint Helena, where the Licentiate Ayllon went. When we arrived there, the queen sent us one of her nieces, who was carried on a litter by the Indians, and seemed to have much authority. She said she was well content that we had arrived at her house, and would give us all in her power. She offered to the governor a necklace of pearls of five or six rows, procured for us some canoes to pass the river, and gave us for lodgings half the village. After three or four days, she fled to the forest. The governor had search made for her, but she could not be found. He caused to be opened a temple wherein the chiefs of the country were interred. We took from it a large quantity of pearls."

Biedma goes on to say,

"We found interred two hatchets from Spain, for cutting wood, a chaplet of berries of the wild olive tree and some small pearls like those which they bring from Spain to use in exchanges with the Indians. We thought that they had procured all these objects in trafficking with the people who had accompanied the licentiate Ayllon. Afterwards these Indians told us the sea was thirty leagues from them. We learnt that the company of Ayllon had advanced very little into the interior; that it had followed almost always the sea coast until his death, and that his companions killed one another, not being able to agree amongst themselves upon the choice of a chief. A large number died of hunger, as was related by one of the soldiers who remained in

the country. Of six hundred men whom Ayllon had disembarked, there escaped only fifty-seven."*

While the Spaniards remained in the village of this queen, the young Indian before mentioned was baptized by the name of Pedro, and loosed from the chain which he had dragged all the way hither. After staying here ten or twelve days, the Spaniards proceeded north. They marched for eight days in a poor country, in which they found but few provisions, and came to a province named Xuala. Cofitachyque is mentioned to be about one hundred and thirty miles from Ocute, and Xuala about two hundred and fifty miles from Cofitachyque. In Xuala they were in a mountainous country. Biedma speaks of going to the source of the great river which they had followed. Thence they passed to a village called Guasuli or Tuaxulla, and in four days more came to a village called China or Chiaha; mentioned by Biedma as in an isle of the river. Roberts describes Chiaha as situated on a river which dividing into two branches formed an island somewhat more than a mile long and two bow shots across. The army rested here twenty-six or twenty-seven days.

"The cacique of Acoste came to offer his services to Soto, who enquired of him whether he knew of any rich or fertile country? He answered, that more to the north, there lay the province of Chisca, where copper was found, and another metal purer and livelier, which, though more beautiful than the former, was yet not much used, because it was softer. Charmed with this relation, Soto determined

* See *ante*, chapter 1, p. 299.

to make for Chisca; but, being informed that mountains interposed, craggy and impenetrable to cavalry, he thought of avoiding the direct road, and to pass some way about, if possible, through a peopled country, where both men and horses might find better subsistence, and he more perfect intelligence. To accomplish this the easier, he dispatched two Spaniards to Chisca, with an interpreter, and some Indians acquainted with the country, who were to meet him at an appointed place.

"Soto now took leave of the cacique of Chiaha, and having made him some presents, with which he was greatly pleased, marched for Acoste, where he arrived on the 12th of July; and, having pitched his camp at a small distance from the town, entered it himself with eight guards. The cacique received him with much civility; but, as they were conversing, a few Spanish soldiers entered the town, in quest of maize, and not finding any to their liking, they began to ransack for it in the houses; which so provoked the Indians, that they fell upon the soldiers with clubs, and beat them severely. Soto saw his danger; the natives were enraged, and his person in their hands. On this occasion, therefore, he deigned to dissemble, though very disagreeable to his nature; and, snatching up a stick, ran immediately and assisted the Indians to beat the Spaniards, dispatching at the same instant, a man to the camp, with orders for the horse to advance, well armed. Then, taking the hand of the cacique very affectionately, he drew him insensibly, while conversing, into a path in sight of the army; during which, the horse, advancing in file, surrounded and carried both him and his Indians into the camp, where the general confined them, and declared they should not regain their liberty until they had furnished the army with guides, and those Spaniards who were sent to Chisca, should have returned in safety.

"Three days after, they returned with news that the way wherein the Indians conducted them, as the best, was so miserably rugged, and the country so barren, that no army could possibly march through it; and, therefore, seeing it would be to no purpose to proceed, they had resolved to turn back again."*

The cacique was set at liberty on furnishing guides to the army, which then marched to Tali, where it arrived the 9th of July. For six days Soto marched over the lands of the cacique of Coca or Cosa, where he arrived the 16th of July. Leaving Cosa on the 20th of August, he took the direction of the west and southwest. The account in Roberts is, that he marched first to Tallimuchase and thence to Itava, where he had to wait a few days for the water of the river to fall. He then marched to Ulliballi, a town situated on a rivulet, and palisadoed around. He marched hence to Toasi, proceeding at the rate of about five or six leagues a day, when in a peopled country, but with all possible expedition when traversing a desert. From Toasi, in five days, he came to Tallise, a large town, with a well cultivated country about it. After reposing here twenty days, he set out for Tascaluca, whence he took the cacique with him. Biedma's narrative of the journey on leaving Cosa is more brief. It is, that for five or six days they found villages belonging to the cacique of Cosa, and then arrived in another province named Italisi, at setting out from which they directed themselves towards the south, in the direction of New Spain; that they passed

* Roberts, p. 49 to 51. The name in Biedma is not Acoste, but Costehe. He describes the villages of this province as built also in isles of the river.

some villages and arrived in a province named Tascaluca or Faszalusa. The army came to Piache, a town situated on a large river. Biedma says:

"We believed it to be that which empties into the bay of Chuse. We learnt that the barks of Narvaez arrived there in want of water, and that a Christian named Teodoro and an Indian remained with the Indians. They shewed us a poignard which had belonged to the Christian. We were two days constructing rafts to pass the river. During this time the Indians killed one of the governor's guard. He, greatly dissatisfied, maltreated the cacique and told him he would cause him to be burnt alive if he did not deliver him the murderers; the cacique replied that he would deliver them at Mavila."

Mavila is called in Roberts, Maville. Biedma describes it as "a little village built on a plain, *surrounded by walls*, and very strong." On entering this village, he says, they saw only three or four hundred Indians, but there were many more concealed. The Indians feasted them and had a dance, in which fifteen or twenty women figured. After they had danced some time, the cacique arose. The governor said something to him at his going out, and was not satisfied with his answer. The captain of the guard following the cacique to his house, saw there a great number of warriors; the houses were filled with Indians armed with bows and arrows. Biedma continues as follows:

"The governor caused another cacique to be called, who was passing by, but this man refused to come. A gentleman, who was near him, took him by the arm to bring

him, but this man made a movement by which he disengaged himself. Then the gentleman drew his sword and gave him a blow, which cut his arm. No sooner was the Indian wounded, than all the others began to lance their arrows from the interior of the houses, through the numerous holes which they had in use. As we were not on our guard, for we believed them our friends, we experienced so considerable a loss that we were compelled to flee out of the village. All the baggage which the Indians had been carrying, remained in the place where they had put it down. As soon as the Spaniards got out, the Indians closed the gates of the village, and began to beat the drum, to raise their colours and make great cries. They opened our coffers and our packets, and from the top of the walls, shewed us our effects, of which they had taken possession. On coming out of the village, we mounted on horseback and surrounded the walls, so as to stop the Indians from going out. The governor ordered on foot sixty or eighty of our men, all well armed, and he directed us to divide ourselves into four platoons, and go to attack the village in four different places. The first who entered had orders to fire the houses, to stop the besieged from doing us harm. The cavaliers, and the other soldiers who were not armed, had orders to guard the exterior of the city, so that no Indian should escape. We penetrated it, and set fire to it. A great number of Indians were burnt, and all of our baggage. We fought all day and till evening, without any Indian's asking quarter: they defended themselves like furious lions. All perished; some by the sword, others by the fire; those who attempted to fly, were killed with blows from lances. When night came, there remained only three Indians, who were guarding the twenty women that they had brought us for the dance: they placed the women before them; these crossed their hands and made signs to the Spaniards as if to tell them to take them; then they

retired, and the three Indians lanced arrows at us. We killed two of them; and the only one who remained, not being willing to surrender, mounted a tree by the wall, detached the cord from his bow, passed it around his neck, and hung himself there."

The account in Roberts is, that twenty-five hundred Indians perished on this occasion by fire and sword. Of the Spaniards, Biedma says, more than twenty were killed, and more than two hundred and fifty wounded. They remained here twenty-seven or twenty-eight days, for the wounded to get better; those most severely injured had the women divided amongst them to serve them; all recovered. From the natives they learnt that they were now eighty leagues from the sea. The governor was much pressed to go thither to get some news of the brigantines, but declined doing so. It was now the middle of November, and was very cold. On the 18th, he proceeded towards the north. In a march of ten or twelve days, the army suffered extremely from the cold, and from having to ford rivers. At one river the Indians wished to prevent the passage: the Spaniards made a halt of three days and then passed it in a canoe. They were now in an extensive and fertile province, where they could winter until the most severe cold was passed; for, says Biedma, "there falls in this country more snow than in Spain." The name of this province was Chicaza or Chicaca. The cacique and his subjects visited the Spaniards and made presents. In March 1541, when it was near the time for departing, they were surprised in the night.

"Three hundred Indians," says Biedma, "entered two by two or four and four in the village, bringing fire, which they had put in small pots, so that they should not be perceived. When these Indians arrived, we heard another troop with war cries: the first had already set fire to the village. We experienced a great loss. That night they killed fifty-seven horses, more than three hundred hogs and thirty or forty men."

The Spaniards removed a league from the place of this action; they were now without saddles, lances or bucklers; all had been burnt; and it was necessary at once to go to work to supply their places. Five days after, the Indians made a new attack; but this being no surprise, many of them were killed and the rest put to flight. After a stay of six or seven weeks, in which time the Spaniards were labouring to make saddles, lances and bucklers, they set out towards the northwest on the 25th of April and went to the province of Alibanio or Alimamu. In this province the Spaniards encountered a very strong palisade and three hundred warriors, who seemed determined to die rather than let them pass. In carrying the palisade, seven or eight of the Spaniards were killed and twenty-five wounded. Marching onward, they entered unexpectedly a village named Quizquiz, where they took more than three hundred women; the inhabitants, as well as many others in the neighbourhood, were tributary to the sovereign of Pacaha. When the Indians were informed of the capture of their women, they came in a friendly way to reclaim them; and the governor restored them; the Indians promising to furnish some canoes to pass the great

river. But this was not done. The Spaniards encamped on the bank of the river and determined to make four barks, to contain each sixty or seventy men and five or six horses; twenty-seven or twenty-eight days were employed in their construction. Roberts speaks of the river as "the largest of Florida," describes it as "about a mile and a half over, very deep and very rapid." He calls it the Rio le Grand. Biedma says,

"The river was about a league wide. We passed it with much order; it was nineteen or twenty fathoms deep."

It was the MISSISSIPPI. On the other side of it were some good villages. The Spaniards going up the stream, came to a province, the cacique of which was named Ycasqui, and was at war with him of Pacaha. Ycasqui told the Spaniards he had heard them spoken of for a long time, and he did not wish to be at war with them, but to do them service. The Spaniards encamped on a plain in sight of his village and made a halt here of two days. The cacique asked the governor to give him a sign by which he could ask for assistance during his wars and obtain water for tillage. The governor ordered a large cross to be made, and told the cacique he would want nothing if he had faith in it. After it was made, the Spaniards marched with the cacique and his men in procession to the village.

"The caciques of this country," says Biedma, "were accustomed to raise near their houses, hills quite elevated; some even have their dwellings high on these hills. It

was on one of these little hills that we planted the cross. We all with much devotion kneeled at the foot of it. After having imitated us, the Indians brought a great number of reeds, with which they made a wall quite around it. That evening we returned to our camp, and the next day we set out for Pacaha, which was situated higher. We marched two days and came to a village in the middle of a plain, surrounded by walls and a ditch filled with water, dug by the hand of man."

From this village the Indians had nearly all fled. The cacique at whose house the cross was planted coming hither with his men, the governor gave him all that was found in this village. The governor sojourned in this place to learn if he could take a route to the north and pass over to the South sea. After a stay of twenty-six or twenty-seven days (during which various excursions were made), some of the Spaniards advanced towards the northeast. They travelled for eight days in a desert covered with very large marshes, and in which nothing was seen but high and thick grass or herbs which it was difficult for the horses to pass. Returning to Pacaha, where the governor had remained, the cacique of this province was found on friendly terms both with the governor and Ycasqui.

De Soto now marched towards the southeast to a province named Quiquata, where was the greatest village he had seen in Florida; it was upon an arm of the great river. Their arrival here was the 4th of August, and they stopped eight or nine days. Then they set out for the province of Coligua, distant about forty leagues; and passed over vast plains and high

mountains. Their route was now towards the west southwest. They came to some scattering villages which had the name of Tatil Coya. Here was seen a large river which empties into the Rio Grande. Ascending the former, they came to a province called Cayas; the population of which was considerable. It was composed of several villages; the country was mountainous.

The governor leaving the rest of his men in Cayas, set out with twenty horse for the province of Tula, spoken of by some of the Indians they had taken. They crossed steep mountains to get there, and upon their arrival began to take some Indians.

"They defended themselves," says Biedma, "and wounded that day seven or eight Spaniards and nine or ten horses. They were so brave that they would reassemble in troops of eight or ten and set upon us like enraged dogs. We killed of them about thirty or forty."

The governor returning to his troop found the Indians which had been taken had fled, and those belonging to the province the interpreter could not comprehend. After a rencounter with the Indians, in which some of them were killed, De Soto took a route southeast and went to a province named Quipana, situate at the foot of very high mountains. Then turning east, he crossed these mountains and descended in a plain. Near by, was a village on the bank of a large river which emptied into that by which he had come. The province was named Viranque, or Autiamque. The troops wintered here and suffered greatly from the cold and snow.

"The Christian," says Biedma, "whom we had found with the Indians that Narvaez had visited, and who had served us as interpreter, died in this place."

Setting out from this village in March 1542, they descended the river and arrived in a province called Anicoyanque, which appeared one of the best they had seen. Then they went to the village of Guachoyanque, or Guachoya, on the bank of the great river; it was surrounded by walls and fortified. The governor sent a captain to the south to seek a way to the sea; he returned, saying that he could not pass the vast marshes which the great river formed.

"This disheartening news," says Roberts,* "affected the general so deeply, as to throw him into a fever; which did not, however, prevent him from sending to the cacique of Quigaltan, to require his submission, and the pleasure of seeing him, which, he acquainted this chief, was a homage hitherto paid him by all the caciques whose dominions he had yet passed through. To this message Quigaltan replied, that it was not his custom to visit any, but that all his neighbours visited, served and paid him tribute, either willingly or by force; that if Soto had any thing to offer, he was welcome to come to him as a friend, but if he should chuse to act as an enemy, he waited for him in his town, whence he would never stir an inch, either for him or any one else.

"Although Soto was suffering under the violent attack of a fever, when the Indian brought this answer, he still felt more, from a sense of his present inability, to chastise this haughty cacique, who not only despised his summons, but, as was reported, intended to attack the Spaniards. Ap-

* Page 70 to 73.

prehending this circumstance to be no vague intelligence, the general redoubled his guards and kept a good watch. The horse patrolled nightly round the camp, and the cross-bow-men guarded the river in canoes, to prevent any surprise on that side. Soto, to render himself still more dreadful to the Indians, detached a party to Nilco, whither, as he was told by the natives of Guachoya, the inhabitants were returned; the cacique of the latter also sent several canoes upon the same expedition, laden with armed Indians. This party, which consisted both of horse and foot, advanced to the town with such rapidity as to surprise the inhabitants, in number about five thousand souls, before they could escape, who, pressing in crowds out of their houses, there was hardly one horseman that did not see himself surrounded by many Indians. As the Spanish commander had ordered his people to give no quarter to the men, a horrible carnage ensued, wherein more than a hundred of the Indians fell, besides numbers which were wounded, by the Spaniards, some of whom carried their cruelty so far as to murder the innocent women and children. The Indians of Guachoya halted peaceably at a distance from the town, while this inhuman scene was transacting, to see the event; but as soon as they perceived the Indians were broken, and the Spaniards chasing them, they ran to pillage the houses; and having loaded their canoes with the booty, returned before the Spaniards to Guachoya, where they related all that had happened, with dread and astonishment to their cacique.

"Meanwhile, the general perceiving his dissolution near, assembled the officers and the bulk of the soldiery, to whom he made a very moving address, acknowledging the great goodness of Providence, in granting him a full possession of his faculties to the last, thanking all the commanders and soldiers for their faithful services, fidelity, and the affection that they had, upon every occasion, testified

for his person, and recommending to them the choice of some leader, to command them in his stead, as the last request he should ever make, and which would, in some measure, alleviate the uneasiness he felt at being obliged to leave them in a barbarous and unknown country. When he had spoken thus, all that were present broke into most pathetic demonstrations of sorrow, and earnestly requested himself to chuse a successor for them. This he readily complied with, and named Luis Moscoso d'Alvarado, who being universally approved of, they all swore fidelity to him immediately.

"On the morrow, the 21st of May, the brave, the virtuous and magnanimous captain Don Ferdinand de Soto, governor of Cuba and general of Florida, yielded up his soul to God. His death the Spaniards endeavoured to conceal from the Indians, who entertained so high an opinion of his abilities, that they looked upon him to be immortal; and, lest a conviction to the contrary might encourage them to revolt, the body was buried by night, just within one of the town gates; but the Indians, who had conceived some suspicions of his death, were observed to eye the earth that had been newly removed there, with much curiosity; for which reason, the Spaniards removed the body on the night following, and wrapping it up with a great deal of sand, carried it into the middle of the river, and buried it there.

"During these events, the cacique of Guachoya frequently enquired concerning Soto, whom he called his lord and brother; and Moscoso having assured him that he was only gone a journey to heaven, which he often had done, and that, intending to make some stay, he had appointed himself to act in his room, the cacique no longer doubted of his death, but sent two handsome young Indians, who he desired might be slain, to accompany him during his journey, according to the custom of this country. Moscoso desired the cacique to send for the young men again, for

the governor was not dead, but gone to heaven, and had chosen from among his own people some to attend him, and besought the cacique to forego so cruel a custom. He then delivered up the Indians, charging them to return, which one of them refused to do, declaring he would never leave Moscoso, who had saved his life, but live and die with him."

The route now taken was to the west, in the hope of reaching Mexico by land. The army quitted Guachoya on the 5th of June, and after marching seventeen days, arrived in the province of Chavite or Chaguate, where the Indians manufactured much salt. The Spaniards remained here six days, and then passed to the province of Aguacay, which, after a march of three days north, they reached on the 4th of July. The Indians telling them that on the coast where they wished to go, there was only a great extent of sand, without any village or any kind of food, the Spaniards turned from the coast and came to a province named Nisione, then into those of Nandacaho and Lacame; but the country became more and more sterile; the cacique of Nandacaho had given them a guide, who told them that his master had ordered him to carry them in a place where they would die of hunger. Then they took another guide, who conducted them in the province of Hais, where they killed some cows, and were attacked by the natives for it. This province was quit for that of Xacatin. Such is the account of Biedma, who adds:

"We took the direction of the south, well determined to die or gain New Spain. We marched then six days in the route of south southeast, after which we halted. We sent

a detachment of six cavaliers, with orders to advance for eight or nine days as far as they could, and see if they could discover any village where they could get a supply of maize."

On their return, says Biedma, it was decided to go back to the village where the governor Soto had died, thinking that there some facilities would be found for building ships, with which they could get out of the country. In Roberts, many other particulars are related. After mentioning the arrival at Aguacay on the 4th of July, he says: *

"The Spaniards left Aguacay on the same day, and four days after, were in the province of Mayè, and encamped on the 20th in a very pleasant wood, between that place and Naguata. Soon after their arrival here, some Indian spies were observed hovering about the camp; two of them were taken, and the rest slain. By this accident, the Spaniards got intelligence that the cacique of Naguata, in league with other chiefs, intended to attack the Spaniards that day; and, indeed, while these Indians were under examination, the enemy appeared in two bodies, and perceiving themselves to be discovered, charged the Spaniards most furiously; but the latter, sustaining the shock vigorously, they fled with precipitation, and were pursued by the cavalry. While these things were in agitation, a great cry was heard at a small distance from the camp, towards which Moscoso detached twelve horsemen, to know the cause, who found there six Spaniards surrounded by a great number of Indians, to which superiority, without assistance, the former must have fallen a sacrifice, though they fought like lions. However, this reinforcement turned the scale so much, that the greater part of the Indians were slain,

* Page 74 to 79.

and one of them taken, whom Moscoso, after cutting off his right arm and nose, sent, in that condition, to the cacique of Naguata, to give him notice, that on the morrow he would enter his country and lay it waste with fire and sword; and that, if the cacique should be desirous of preventing it, he must meet him at his entrance. The army marched next day towards the township of Naguata, the houses of which were separated from each other. The residence of the cacique was on the opposite side of a river, where the Indians stood ready to oppose the Spaniards in passing over; which, however, the latter accomplished, in spite of all obstacles, and entered into a country well furnished with provisions and all the necessaries of life. Moscoso had not been here long, before the cacique of Naguata sent a party of Indians to observe the behaviour of the general and his people, and to acquaint the former that he intended to visit him, which he did presently afterwards, attended by a large body of the natives, all in tears, according to the fashion of Tulla, which is not far distant. He made a profound reverence to the general, and demanded pardon for his offence, throwing all the blame upon the bad counsels of one of his brothers, who fell in the battle. He enlarged much in the praise of Moscoso and the Spaniards, whom he professed to regard as a people something more than human, and concluded with offers of service and obedience. When he had finished, the general received him into his favour, and promised to consider him as his friend, provided his behaviour should correspond with his words.

"The army soon after decamped, but was obliged to turn back, upon account of the swelling of the river, which appeared the more extraordinary, because no rain had fallen; but, as it frequently happened, and always at the increase of the moon, it should seem to be owing to the tide, though the Indians had no knowledge of any sea;

nevertheless, they found means to pass it eight days after, and in three days arrived at a village belonging to the cacique of Missobone, a barren and an ill-peopled province; thence they wandered through a wild district, called Lacané, and soon after arrived at the province of Mondacao, the cacique of which presented the general with a quantity of fish. He was received very kindly, and as soon as the army had provided themselves with subsistence, they received a guide and marched towards Soacatino. In journeying thither, they passed through the province of Aays, the fierce inhabitants of which harassed the Spaniards continually, during their march to Guasco, where they arrived, after having suffered incredible hardships and fatigues; and finding maize sufficient for their use here, they loaded their horses and marched to Nagiscosa.

"In fine, having travelled long to no purpose, through miserable deserts, frequently bewildered and quite at a loss which way to proceed, perpetually engaged in perils and alarms, and uncertain still whether famine would not be their destruction at last, the general called a council, wherein it was determined to return to Nilco, and there build vessels to carry the troops down the river, and so to some of the Spanish settlements by sea. This resolution was far from giving content to all; many there were among the Spaniards that would rather have taken the highest probability of perishing in Florida, through want, than have returned thence poor and disappointed; nevertheless, these not having number or force to oppose, were obliged to submit to the general determination.

"The troops had already marched one hundred and fifty leagues to the west of the great river, and now they repented of having laid waste the country through which they were to return; but the inconveniency was less than the expectation of it, for they found the town of Naguata, which had been burnt, now rebuilt by the Indians, and the

houses well stored with maize, the country being both fertile and well peopled. They make here earthen dishes, not much unlike those of Estremos and Montemor. The Spaniards left Naguata, and came to Chaguetè, and at length arrived at Nilco; but found so little maize there, that they were entirely thrown into a dejection, nearly bordering upon despair, seeing no means of subsisting during the time requisite for building the vessels to carry them out of Florida; not owing to sterility of soil, but to the neglect of the Indians, who had been too much frightened to employ themselves in tillage while the troops resided at Guachoya: for the province is extremely fertile, which made the Spaniards confident of finding subsistence here. The soldiers now began to curse the resolution, to push on their discoveries no farther westward, and to look upon the design of putting to sea, as absurd and chimerical to the last degree, they being totally unprovided with every necessary preparation for shipping. The unfortunate Narvaez was frequently recalled to their minds, who was lost upon this coast; but the heaviest of all their misfortunes was the want of food, without which, it was impossible for the men to labour.

"They had now no resource left but to recommend themselves to Divine Providence in prayer, for his immediate assistance, and He heard them, sending the Indians of Nilco, with great submission, to inform them that there were, at the distance of two days journey from them, upon the banks of the great river, towns of which the Spaniards had no knowledge. The country was called Minoya, and very fertile. Moscoso, upon this, dispatched a captain with a party of horse and foot, attended by the Indians of Nilco, who were at war with the people of these towns, one of which they instantly seized, and entrenched themselves in it, having found a great quantity of maize there. Great was the joy in the camp at hearing these tidings, and all the troops set forward immediately, though the weather

was very bad, being rainy, attended with a cold north wind, and the ways very full of water; yet they surmounted all difficulties, and lodged themselves in the best of the towns, at a quarter of a league from the great river. Hither they brought all the maize from the other towns, amounting to six thousand bushels. The place also afforded wood, better for the building of vessels than any thing they had yet seen in Florida.

"The general now set every person that could be useful, to work. He collected all the iron that could be gotten, even the chains from the prisoners, and wood was immediately felled for timber. Providentially there was found among their number some one artificer qualified to serve for every use. In fine, after great fatigue and perseverance, seven brigantines were finished in the month of June, but a difficulty, very hard to be overcome, yet remained, and that was, to set them afloat: for the Indians had declared, that the great river rose only once a year, at the time when the snows were melting; which had already happened, and no rain had fallen for a long space. However, it pleased God that the river swelled suddenly, upon the increase of the moon, and came, as it were, to fetch the brigantines away; so that they were floated into the bed of the river with great ease. A thing which, but for this event, would have been effected, not without great labour and the hazard of straining them, and opening their seams in hauling them down to the water. And thus, on the second day of July, in the year 1543, the Spaniards were all embarked, and departed from Minoya. Moscoso appointed a captain to each brigantine, and made them swear to obey him in the same manner as they did when ashore. This being done, they proceeded to Guachoya. Leaving this place, they found the current very strong, and advanced at a great rate by the help of their oars, till they came to Quigaltam. Moscoso sent, from time to time, parties ashore, and found great quantities of maize in the houses, which were after-

wards embarked on board of the vessels. While they were passing through this province, frequent attacks were made upon them by the Indians, in one of which the Spaniards lost about twenty-five men, with their commander, John Gasman, who was detached with this party in canoes, to attack the enemy; by whose canoes, much larger and more numerous than his, he was soon surrounded, when the Indians, throwing themselves in multitudes into the water, and laying hold upon the Spaniards' canoes, overturned them all in an instant. These brave men all perished, being carried to the bottom by the weight of their armour.

"This success so encouraged the Indians, that they omitted no opportunity of annoying the vessels during the whole time of their falling down the river, sometimes making a shew, as if they intended to board them, and constantly kept up a continual discharge of their arrows from the banks of the river. The Spaniards lost a considerable number of men upon this occasion. They at last lined the gunnels and quarter-decks with a breast-work made of double mats, so thick as to prevent the arrows from penetrating.

"When they had arrived at about half a league's distance from the mouth of the river, the general landed his men, in order to refresh them, as they had been greatly fatigued by rowing. Here they staid two days only, as the Indians still continued to alarm them. The 18th of July they put to sea, with a favourable wind, and after a passage of fifty-two days, arrived at the mouth of the river Panuco, on the continent of Mexico, on the 10th of September 1543, having undergone various fatigues, dangers and difficulties, as well by sea as by land, and lost above one-half of their number in this unfortunate expedition."

Biedma returned soon after to Spain, for it is stated that in 1544 he presented his relation to the king and his council of the Indias.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the voyage of Jacques Carthier to Canada in 1540.

Francis the First saw and talked with Donnacona, and the other people brought by Carthier from Canada, ten in number; they were baptized and were some time in France, but never returned to their native country; all save one little girl, about ten years old, died in Bretaigne before Carthier's third voyage.

He sailed from St. Malo with five ships the 23d of May 1540, but owing to stormy weather had a tedious voyage, and did not reach the haven of Santa Croix until the 23d of August. He was visited immediately by the people, among whom was Agona, appointed king by Donnacona when he went to France. The death of Donnacona was at once communicated, but the truth was concealed as to the rest. Of them, it was said that they staid in France as great lords, and were married, and would not return to their country.

Carthier went up to a river and haven about four leagues higher, which he thought better for his ships to ride in, and there he kept three of them: the other two departed on the 2d of September for St. Malo, with letters to the king to give information of Carthier's proceedings, and communicate the fact that Sir John Francis de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, who was appointed the king's lieutenant and governor, had not yet arrived. Carthier, after his fort was

begun at the place which he had selected, called Charlesbourg Royal, went up the river to see the Lord of Hochelai, who in the former voyage gave him a little girl, and had been in other things friendly. In return, Carthier gave him two young boys, and left them with him to learn his language, "and bestowed upon him a cloak of Paris red, which cloak was set with yellow and white buttons of tin and small bells," and also made him some other presents. Carthier afterwards visited the Saults, which form what is now called the Sault St. Louis, between Montreal and Lachine, and then returned to Charlesbourg Royal. On his way back, he called at the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelai, but he was absent. There being some reason to apprehend hostilities from the natives, Carthier caused all things in the fortress to be set in good order. At this point, the relation of Carthier's third voyage abruptly breaks off; and nothing is known of his proceedings for a considerable time. He arrived in the harbour of Saint John in June 1542, and thence departed home for Bretaigne.*

* Hakluyt's Collection, vol. 3, p. 232 to 240. Hawkins's Quebec, p. 55 to 64. Mr. Hawkins says that Charlesbourg Royal is Cap Rouge, and that Hochelai is Richelieu.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the voyage of Sir John Francis de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, to Canada in 1542.

Carthier had, in his third voyage, only the appointment of captain general and leader *of the ships*, and may have been embarrassed in his proceedings by the absence of the knight, who was the king's lieutenant and governor. This person did not sail from Rochelle till the 16th of April 1542: on the 8th of June he entered the road of Saint John, where he found seventeen ships of fishers. In the account of his voyage, there is the following statement:

"While we made somewhat long abode here, Jacques Carthier and his company returning from Canada, whither he was sent with five sail the year before, arrived in the very same harbour. Who, after he had done his duty to our general, told him that he had brought certain diamonds, and a quantity of gold ore, which was found in the country. Which ore, the Sunday next ensuing, was tried in a furnace and found to be good.

"Furthermore, he informed the general that he could not, with his small company, withstand the savages, which went about daily to annoy him, and that this was the cause of his return into France. Nevertheless, he and his company commended the country to be very rich and fruitful. But when our general, being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to go back again with him, he and his company, moved as it seemed with ambition, because

they would have all the glory of the discovery of those parts themselves, stole privily away the next night from us, and without taking their leave, departed home for Bretaigne."

The lofty promontory of Quebec has since received the name of Cape Diamond, because of its striking productions. What Carthier obtained in Canada, was of little avail. He sacrificed his fortune in the cause of discovery, and died soon after his return to France.

The Lord of Roberval left the harbour of Saint John the last of June. Of his course from Belle Isle, Carpont and the Grand Bay, up the river for two hundred and thirty leagues, there is a full account by his chief pilot, John Alphonso of Xanctoigne. Proceeding four leagues westward of the Isle of Orleans, he there built a fort, which he called the Fort of France-Roy. It was, the pilot states, in forty-seven degrees and one sixth part of a degree. Mr. Hawkins thinks it was the same place that Jacques Carthier chose the year before. Of Roberval's proceedings, while in Canada, but little is known. We see that on the 5th of June 1543, he departed on an expedition to Saguenay, but there are no particulars of it, except that one of the barks was lost and eight men drowned.

"Roberval returned to France in 1543; and animated by the duty which he owed to the king, on the war again breaking out between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. his active disposition led him back to the profession of arms. He distinguished himself in this war, as he had done on many previous occasions.

"After the death of his royal patron, in 1547, having got together a band of enterprising men, he embarked again for Canada in 1549, with his brother Achille, who was reputed one of the bravest warriors in France, and who was honourably named by Francis I., Le Gendarme d'Annibal. In this voyage, all these gallant men perished, or were never afterwards heard of."*

* This chapter is from Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 237 to 242, and from Hawkins's Quebec, p. 64 to 70.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the voyage of Gregorio de Beteta on the Florida coast in 1549; and of Sebastian Cabot from his return to England in 1548, until his death in 1557.

Gregorio de Beteta must have been to Florida before the voyage related in the Collection of pieces on Florida, published by H. Ternaux-Compans, at Paris in 1841. Of the voyage so related, his statement is, that when they came in sight of land, in about twenty-eight degrees, not seeing there any appearance of the port they were seeking, they went to twenty-eight degrees and a half or twenty-nine degrees. After mentioning that the boat went ashore, and what happened, he says,

"We employed eight days to arrive at the entrance of the bay, and eight other days were taken to enter it; it was from six to seven leagues wide: we entered it for water, and we had much trouble to find it. The day of the Fete-dieu we went on land."

Indians were seen who could repeat some words in Spanish, which they had learnt from the Spaniards who had before been to this country.

"We commenced," says Gregorio, "by making them understand by signs that we desired that they should restore the friar, the christians and the interpreter."

In the absence of those who went on land there came aboard a man named Juan Munoz; he was in the expedition of Soto, and described his chief. This man said,

"The Indians who had received the friar and his companions had killed them the instant that I quitted them, but they preserved the mariner's life. I asked him how he had knowledge of it. He replied to me, I have often heard it repeated by the Indians who have killed them."

On this second visit of Beteta he had with him four friars. When they landed the Indians made signs to them to return to the boat. One of them, more resolute on staying here than the rest, went ashore a second time and was massacred. It was wished to go to another place but the ship was not proper for navigating the coast, being unable to approach the land nearer than five or six leagues. On the 28th of June 1549, they quit the port of Vendredi Saint; it was decided at first to go to Havana, but afterwards they directed themselves towards New Spain; on Sunday the 14th of July, they found themselves at Yucatan in twenty degrees; on the 19th they arrived at San Juan de Lua.

From 1549 to 1557 but little appears to have been done towards settling the Atlantic coast of North America. It was otherwise in Mexico and the provinces of South America. The titles of books then put forth are not a little curious.

Hans Staden of Hombourg, in Hesse, who arrived the 28th of January 1548, in view of the cape of St. Augustin and entered the port of Pernambouc,

published at Marbourg in 1557 a volume with this title,

"Véritable histoire et description d'un pays habité par des hommes sauvages, nus, féroces et anthropophages, situé dans le nouveau monde, nommé Amérique, inconnu dans le pays de Hesse avant et depuis la naissance de Jésus-Christ, jusqu'à l'année dernière que Hans Staden de Homberg, en Hesse, l'a connu par sa propre expérience et le fait connaître actuellement par le moyen de l'impression."

This veritable history and description is again given to the world by Mr. Henri Ternaux along with the other voyages, relations and memoirs published by him at Paris in 1837.

Edward the Sixth ascended the throne the 28th of January 154$\frac{7}{8}$; Sebastian Cabot returned to England soon afterwards.* On the 6th of January, in the second year of Edward's reign, (154$\frac{8}{9}$,) letters patent were issued, whereby, in consideration of the service done and to be done by Cabot, and by the advice of the king's uncle Edward, Duke of Somerset, protector of his kingdom, and of the rest of his council, there was granted to Cabot, from the preceding feast of St. Michael, the archangel, (29th of September,) an annuity of £165. 13. 4. during his life.† It is said that Cabot built a house at Blackwall; that his place was called Poplar; and that it retains the name.‡

He became governor of the company of merchants, adventurers for the discovery of places unknown. In 1553, when the company sent out a fleet, Cabot prepared instructions for the voyage, which

* Biddle's Memoir, p. 172. † 3 Hakluyt, p. 10, 11. ‡ Hawkins's Quebec, p. 23.

may be seen in the first volume of Hakluyt, page 226 to 230: they have been commended as giving strong proof of his sagacity. Sir Hugh Willoughby, the captain general of the fleet, and such of his men as were in two of the ships, perished from cold in Lapland, in or after January 155¾.* The other ship was in charge of the pilot general, (Richard Chancellor,) who has given an account of his travels in Russia, Muscovy and the adjoining countries; it is in 1 Hakluyt, page 237 to 255, and in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 3, book 2, ch. 1, page 211.

Stephen Burroughs, who was dispatched to the north upon another enterprise in 1556, mentions an entertainment at Gravesend, just before the departure of his ship, and tells the following anecdote of Cabot.†

"The 27th of April, being Monday, the right worshipful Sebastian Caboto came aboard our pinnace at Gravesend, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen, who, after they had viewed our pinnace and tasted of such cheer as we could make them, aboard, they went on shore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards: and *the good old gentleman* master Caboto gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the Serch-thrift, our pinnace. And then at the sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheer: and *for very joy*, that he had to see the forwardness of our intended discovery, *he entered into the dance himself*, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, he and his friends departed most gently, commending us to the governance of Almighty God."

* 1 Hakluyt, p. 237. † 1 Hakluyt, p. 274, 5. Biddle's Memoir, p. 213, 14.

When Cabot was thus dancing with the *rest of the young people*, it is to be remembered, he was nearly four score years. He died the next year (1557) in London, at the advanced age of eighty, leaving a high character both as a navigator and a man of general ability. He was attended in his last moments by his friend Richard Eden,* and from Eden's presence, it is inferred London was the place of his death. "He gave," Mr. Biddle remarks, "a continent to England, yet no one can point to the few feet of earth she has allowed him in return." In Boston and Philadelphia, there are respectable families with the name and arms of Cabot, who are supposed to be his descendants.†

Purchas (vol. 4, p. 1812,) refers to a picture of Sebastian Cabot in the privy gallery at Whitehall, with this inscription:

"Effigies Seb. Caboti Angli, filii Johannis Caboti Veneti Militis Aurati, &c.; he was born at Venice, and serving Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., was accounted English—Galpano saith he was born at Bristol."

"This picture," Mr. Biddle says,‡ "now belongs to the representatives of the late Charles Joseph Harford, Esq. of Bristol. The inscription which Purchas curtails by an '&c.' is this:

"'Effigies Seb. Caboti Angli, filii Johannis Caboti Veneti Militis Aurati, *Primi Inventoris Terræ Novæ sub Henrico VII. Angliæ Rege.*'

"The manner in which the portrait came to the knowledge of Mr. Harford, and finally into his possession, is very minutely stated in a memoir prepared by him and left with

*Biddle's Memoir, p. 219. †Hawkins's Quebec, p. 23. ‡Biddle's Memoir, p. 317

his family. Without needlessly introducing names, it may suffice to state that whilst travelling in Scotland, in 1792, he saw it for the first time at the seat of a nobleman; and, many years afterwards, his friend the late Sir Frederick Eden was enabled to gratify his anxious wishes by procuring it for him.

"The work of Purchas was published in 1625, at the close of the reign of James I. That the picture was not in the gallery in the time of Charles II., would appear from the following circumstances:

"There is a tract by Evelyn, the celebrated author of *Sylva*, &c. entitled "Navigation and commerce, their original and progress, containing a succinct account of traffic in general, its benefits and improvements; of discoveries, wars and conflicts at sea, from the original of navigation to this day; with special regard to the English nation; their several voyages and expeditions to the beginning of our late differences with Holland; in which his majesty's title to the dominion of the sea is asserted against the novel and later pretenders, by J. Evelyn, Esq. S.R.S. London, 1674.' It is dedicated to Charles II. to whom the author expresses his gratitude for an appointment to the council of commerce and plantations. The object of it, as may be inferred from the title, is to shew the early and diffusive influence of England at sea. Referring to the triumphant conflicts with France in the time of Henry VIII., he says, (p. 73,) 'see also that rare piece of Holbein's in his majesty's gallery at Whitehall.' He adverts (p. 57) to Sebastian Cabot, 'born with us at Bristol,' and hazards a conjecture as to his having, with his father, 'discovered Florida and the shores of Virginia, with that whole tract as far as Newfoundland, before the bold Genoese.' Had the portrait in question been in the gallery at Whitehall in Evelyn's time, he would not have omitted to notice the remarkable assertion which its inscription conveys.

"The disappearance of the picture, therefore, from Whitehall, and its getting into private hands, may be referred to the intermediate period. It was, probably, bought at the sales which took place after the death of Charles I., and of which the following account is found in Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England:

"'Immediately after the death of the King, several votes were passed for sale of his goods, pictures, statues, &c.

"'Feb. 20, 1648. It was referred to the committee of the navy to raise money by sale of the crown jewels, hangings and other goods of the late king.

"'In the ensuing month the house proceeded to vote, that the personal estate of the late king, queen and prince, should be inventoried, appraised and sold. This vote, in which they seem to have acted honestly, not allowing their own members to be concerned in the sale, was the cause that the collections fell into a variety of low hands, and were dispersed among the painters and officers of the late king's household; where many of them remained on sale with low prices affixed.

"'All other furniture from all the king's palaces was brought up and exposed to sale; there are specified, particularly, Denmark or Somerset-house, Greenwich, *Whitehall*, Nonsuch, Oatlands, Windsor, Wimbleton-house, St. James's, Hampton-court, Richmond, Theobalds, Ludlow, Carisbrook and Kenilworth castles; Bewdley-house, Holdenby-house, Royston, Newmarket and Woodstock manorhouse. One may easily imagine that such a collection of pictures, with the remains of jewels and plate, and the furniture of *nineteen* palaces, ought to have amounted to a far greater sum than *one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds.*

"'The sale continued to August 9, 1653. The prices were fixed, but if more was offered, the highest bidder purchased; this happened in some instances, not in many. Part of the goods were sold by inch of candle. The buyers, called contractors, signed a writing for the several sums. If they disliked the bargain, they were at liberty to be discharged from the agreement on paying one fourth of the sum stipulated. Among the purchasers of statues and pictures, were several painters, as Decritz, Wright, Baptist Van Leemput, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, &c. The Cartoons of Raphael were bought by his highness (Cromwell) for £300.'"

"The circumstances which refer this portrait to Holbein seem to be conclusive. Cabot is represented as in extreme age. Now he had not been in England from 1517 until his return in 1548. The portrait, therefore, must have been taken after the last mentioned date. Holbein enjoyed the continued patronage of Henry VIII. after Sir Thomas More had introduced his works to the king's notice in the manner so familiarly known. He lived through the reign of Edward VI. and died at Whitehall, of the plague, in 1554. It is not probable, under such circumstances, that a portrait of Cabot, destined for the king's gallery, would have been taken by any other hand.

"Such seems to be the curious history of a picture in itself so interesting. Painted for Edward VI. in compliment to this great seaman and national benefactor, and the property, in succession, of two queens and two kings of England, its retirement to private life may probably be dated from a sale at which Oliver Cromwell was a bidder.

"Cabot was evidently, as has been said, at a very advanced age when the portrait was taken. His stature, though somewhat lost in a slight stoop, must have been commanding. Holbein would seem to have wished to catch the habitual, unpremeditated expression which he had doubtless, from engagements about the Court, had frequent opportunities of remarking. It is that of profound, and even painful thought; and in the deeply marked lines, and dark hazel eye, there yet linger tokens of the force and ardour of character of this extraordinary man. The right hand exhibits an admirable specimen of the painter's minute, elaborate finish. Of the compasses which it holds one foot is placed on a great globe resting on a table, on which are an hour-glass and writing materials. The rich robe and massy gold chain, are probably badges of his office as governor of the society of merchant adventurers. It is impossible not to gaze with deep interest on this me-

morial, heightened, perhaps, by a reflection on its present humble position—emblematic, indeed, of the slight on the closing years of the great original."*

* A catalogue of the pictures, &c. belonging to Charles I., drawn up in his lifetime, and apparently for his use, is found amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 4718. Amongst those enumerated as then in the privy gallery at Whitehall, that of Cabot is not mentioned. This might lead to the inference that it had got into private hands sooner than is above suggested, particularly as it appears by the catalogue that some of the pictures had been recently obtained in the way of exchange. Again, it may have been sent or taken away by the king. In the MS. work of Richard Symonds, (Harleian MSS. No. 991,) it is said, "The committee at Somerset-house, valued the king's pictures and other movable goods at £200,000., *notwithstanding that both himself and the queen had carried away abundance.*" The painting in question is not specially mentioned in a list of the sales during the protectorate, found in the Harleian MSS. No. 7352, though this is by no means decisive, as several of the entries are mere charges against individuals for "a picture," "two pictures," "three pictures," &c. (fol. 222, et seq.) Cabot's portrait has recently been seen, in London, by the most eminent artists, and instantly recognized as a Holbein. However we may balance between probabilities as to its intermediate history, a doubt as to its identity with the picture referred to by Purchas, seems to involve not only the necessity of accounting for the disappearance of the latter, but also the extravagant supposition that *two* portraits of Cabot, bearing the same remarkable inscription, were executed by the great artist of his day.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of an examination of the coast of Florida in 1558, wherein was seen a bay, described as "the largest and most commodious bay of all on these shores," which was named then Philipina, and afterwards Santa Maria Philipina; also of an expedition in 1559 to the port of Y'chuse in thirty degrees twenty minutes, about twenty leagues south of the bay of Santa Maria; and of a reconnoissance in 1561 to about thirty-five degrees.

Don Louis de Velasco, viceroy of Mexico, sent Guido de las Bazares with some marines and other persons to reconnoitre the coasts of Florida, for the greater safety of the persons who were going there to colonize the country and the point of St. Helena. He set out from the port of Saint Juan de Lua, the 3d of September 1558, with sixty soldiers and marines in a large bark, a galley and a shallop. He arrived at the river of Panuco on the 5th, set out from it on the 14th, and went to land on this coast in twenty-seven degrees and a half. Going along the coast, he discovered a bay at twenty-eight degrees and a half of latitude, which he named San Francisco. Setting out from this place he went to reconnoitre the Alacranes, to direct himself thence towards Florida. Contrary winds having prevented him from approaching where he wished, he landed at twenty-nine degrees and a half upon the coast of east southeast, where he found an isle, four leagues from Terra Firma; he passed within that isle, Terra Firma and

other isles of the continent, and gave to this place the name of the bay of Bas-Fonds. Thence he made ten leagues to the east; he saw a bay which he named Philipina; it is described as the largest and most commodious bay of all on these shores; penetrated, passing by the point of an isle seven leagues long; and distant from the port of Saint Juan de Lua about two hundred and seventy leagues.* After having quitted it, he tried twice to reconnoitre the coast, extending more to the east; he followed it more than twenty leagues. Quitting the coast of Florida on the 3d of December, he entered the port of San Juan de Lua the 14th.

On the 24th of September 1559, Velasco wrote to the king a letter upon his affairs in Florida, in which he mentions that a fleet fitted out for the colonization of Florida, from the point of Saint Helena, sailed on the 11th of June of that year from San Juan de Ulua, and that on the 9th of September, there arrived a gallion dispatched by the governor Don Tristan d'Arellano; that it had made in fourteen days the passage from the place whence the disembarkation was effected; and that it brought the following information of the progress of the fleet. At the end of seventeen days, it found itself on the shores of the river of Saint Esprit, about twenty leagues from this river and in twenty-seven degrees and a quarter of latitude. From this place they made six leagues to the southeast, to the south southwest, and to the south, until they made to the height of the Alacranes, at twenty-seven de-

* The account of Bazares is that "l'entrée est à 29 degrés et demi de latitude sud;" those who saw it in the succeeding year (it will be seen) place it in rather a higher latitude.

grees to the southwest of these last. From this point they ran another course to the northeast to reconnoitre the coast. Eight days after, they perceived the coast at eight leagues from the bay of Mervelo in the direction of the west, about twenty-nine degrees and a half. On the 17th of July the fleet sailed for the port of d'Ychuse. This is described as twenty leagues from the bay Philipina, and about thirty leagues from the bay of Mervelo; as between these bays, and in about thirty degrees twenty minutes. The pilot on board a frigate which went on before, not perceiving this port, the frigate passed beyond and cast anchor in the bay Philipina discovered by Guido de las Bazares. The horses were disembarked in this bay, and some companies of infantry repaired with them by land to d'Ychuse. The army quitted the bay of Philipina for the port of d'Ychuse, the day of Notre-Dame d'Aout, which caused to be given to it the name of Santa Maria Philipina.

Notwithstanding what was said by Bazares of the port of Philipina, the governor, we are told, knew that the port d'Ychuse "was the best and the most sure on all this coast." Yet, in the dispatch, we find afterwards this language:

"Guido arrived in this bay Philipina. The fleet ran some danger in entering it, because of the small depth at the bar, which hinders the entrance of large vessels, the strong current that is there, and the bad time that it caused. The army quitted the bay of Philipina for the port of d'Ychuse, the day of Notre Dame d'Aout, which caused to be given to it the name of Santa Maria Philipina. It is one of the best ports which they have discovered in the

Indias; the lowest depth is not less than twelve cubits; it has seven or eight fathoms in the interior; the width is three leagues; the Spaniards are still there; the bar is half a league wide." Again, it is said: "The ships can cast anchor in four or five fathoms, at a shot of the cross-bow from the shore; the port is so sure that no wind can occasion there any misfortune. We saw there some cabins, which appeared to belong to Indian fishers; the soil seemed very fertile; there grew there many vines, nuts, and other fruit trees; there were numerous woods, much game, many birds, excellent fish and of all kinds. We found there also, a field of maize."

If we consider this as intended to describe the port and bay of Santa Maria, the description was well calculated to encourage a subsequent settlement there.

Velasco, in his letter of September 1559, writes that he is going to send promptly the supplies of which the governor has need. It was contemplated to explore the country, to choose a place for colonizing, and to build a fortress; after this, to penetrate into the interior, and put in execution a plan for propagating the Catholic religion.

On the 27th of May 1561, Angel de Villafañe, governor and captain general of the provinces of Florida, entered, with a frigate, into the river of Saint Helena, and proceeded to thirty-three degrees. He made four or five leagues, and disembarked; not deeming the place suitable for colonizing, he regained the sea and followed the coast, to seek a port. After having doubled the Cape San Roman, at thirty-four degrees, he went upon land the 2d of June, and saw a great river, of which he took possession. The 8th

of June he entered, on board of the frigates, the river Jordan, which runs near this cape. Again he put to sea. He sent the treasurer Alonzo Velasquez, to the river of Canoes, situated near thirty-four degrees and a half. The reconnoissance of the coast was continued until the 14th of June, when the cape of Trafalgar was found in about thirty-five degrees. A tempest prevented the reconnoissance from being prosecuted farther. They reached the port of Monte Christo, in the isle of Hispaniola, the 9th of July 1561.

The relations, from which this chapter is taken, are in a volume of pieces on Florida, published at Paris in 1841, in Ternaux's collection of original voyages, relations and memoirs, to serve for the history of the discovery of America. On comparing the degrees with the best maps of the present day, it is very obvious that the degrees, as understood by the writers of these relations, vary, to some extent, from the degrees as now understood.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the dissensions existing in France in 1562; and the voyage thence to Florida this year under captain John Ribault.

Francis the First of France, died in March 1547, about two months after Henry the Eighth of England. He was succeeded by Henry the Second, who died the 10th of July 1559. Francis the Second, a son of Henry and of Catharine de Medici, had the year before he ascended the throne married Mary Stuart, only child of James the Fifth of Scotland, by Maria of Lorraine, daughter of Claude the first duke of Guise. During his short reign of seventeen months were sown the seeds of evils which afterwards desolated France. The uncles of his wife, Francis duke of Guise, and the duke's brother Charles, the cardinal of Lorraine, held the reigns of government. Antony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, unwilling to see them govern the kingdom while princes of the blood were removed from the administration, united with the Protestants to overthrow the Guises who were protectors of the Catholics. Ambition was the cause, religion the pretext, and the conspiracy of Amboise the first symptom of the civil war which broke out in March 1560. In relation to this subject, reference has been made to the second volume of "Nouvel abrege chronologique de l'histoire de France," printed at

Paris in 1775, the author of which remarks at page 515, that "the difference of commencing the year in the month of January, or at Easter, has occasioned sometimes a diversity in dates; some placing, for example, the conspiracy of Amboise in 1559, and others in 1560."

The Prince of Condé, as the head of the Huguenots, was already condemned to die by the hands of the executioner, when Francis the Second died the 5th of December 1560, in the eighteenth year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother Charles the Ninth, who ascended the throne at the age of ten years. His mother, Catharine de Medici, without having the title of regent, undertook to administer the government, with the counsel of the King of Navarre, who was appointed governor general. In the beginning of this reign the Prince of Condé was set at liberty.

There were in England, after the death of Henry the Eighth, as many different sovereigns within a short number of years, as in France after the death of Francis the First. The reign of Edward the Sixth ended the 6th of July 1553; then Mary was queen till her marriage with Philip the 25th of July 1554; and Philip and Mary reigned till her death on the 17th of November 1558, when Elizabeth ascended the throne.

In the mean time, to wit, in 1555, the Emperor Charles the Fifth had abdicated his crown in favour of Philip. After the death of Mary, who had been induced by Philip to declare war against France, he made peace with that kingdom in 1559, and soon af-

ter married a daughter of Henry the Second. The arrival of Philip in Spain this year was celebrated by the inquisition; he received from the Protestants the appellation of Demon of the South.

Mary Stuart, whom Catharine de Medici loved not, and who loved her no more, returned to Scotland in 1561 by the advice of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, after having relinquished the arms and the title of Queen of England, to avoid being stopped by the vessels of Elizabeth.

In France, there were now two strong parties: On the side of Condé were the Protestants and Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France; on the side of Francis Guise, now duke of Lorraine, were the constable of Montmorenci and the marshal of Saint André. To these the King of Navarre joined himself; and the fear that his junction would make the party of the Catholics too powerful, it is said, caused the edict of January 1562, which granted to the Huguenots the public exercise of their religion. This was with a proviso that they should advance nothing opposed to the Council of Nice, to symbols, or to the Old or New Testament.* The domestic dissensions which existed were probably not without their influence in leading the French now to take measures for colonizing in America.

The admiral of Chastillon caused two ships to sail for America in 1562 under captain John Ribault, a Huguenot, accompanied by several gentlemen, amongst whom was Mons'r Réné Laudonnière who has given an account of the voyage. It will be found in the

* "L'histoire de France," printed at Paris in 1775, vol. 2, p. 525.

third volume of Hakluyt's Collection, page 303 to 319. They went to sea the 18th of February, and after sailing two months, arrived in Florida, landing near a cape distant from the equator about thirty degrees, which they called Cape François. Coasting north, they discovered a great river where they landed and saw many Indians, men and women, by whom they were kindly received. Not far from the mouth of this river they planted a pillar of stone on which were the arms of France. Then they crossed over to the other side of the river and offered up a prayer of thanksgiving for having been so far safely conducted. Several Indians were present, observing attentively this proceeding. When it was over, there was an exchange of presents between their king and Ribault. After which the French went back to the shore where they first were, and exchanged presents with the king that was on that side. The river, they called the river of May, because they discovered it the first of that month.

Returning to the ships they weighed anchor and hoisted their sails, to discover the coast farther north. They discovered and partly explored another river which they called the Seine. They had not sailed much farther along the coast before they discovered a third river and an isle. They saw here a king, no less affable than the rest, and named this river the Somme. Sailing then about six leagues, they viewed a fourth river which they named the Loyre, and there discovered five others, whereof the first was named Cherente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fifth Grande; having thus in less

than sixty leagues, discovered many things along nine rivers. Yet they sailed further north, following, says Laudonnière, "the course that might bring us to the river of Jordan, one of the fairest rivers of the north." Fogs and tempests constrained them to leave the coast and bear to sea, but when the weather became better, they saw a river which they called Belle a Voir, and afterwards arrived at a mighty river in thirty-two degrees, which, because of its fairness and largeness, they named Port Royal. Here they cast anchor at ten fathoms of water; the depth being such "when the sea beginneth to flow that the greatest ships of France, yea the arguses of Venice, may enter in there." The captain and his soldiers went ashore, he being the first to land.

"The river," says Laudonnière, "at the mouth thereof, from cape to cape, is no less than three French leagues broad: it is divided into two great arms, whereof the one runneth towards the west, the other towards the north. And I believe in my judgment that the arm which stretcheth towards the north, runneth up into the country as far as the river Jordan: the other arm runneth into the sea, as it was known and understood by those of our company which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two arms are two great leagues broad, and in the midst of them there is an isle which is pointed towards the opening of the great river."

They sailed in the ships three leagues up the river, and cast anchor. After which, Ribault, accompanied by some of the soldiers, went further up, into the arm that runs towards the west. Having sailed twelve leagues, they perceived a troop of Indians,

who, so soon as they saw the pinnaces, fled into the woods, leaving behind a young Lucerne they were turning on a spit; for which reason the place was called Cape Lucerne. Finding another arm of the river, which run towards the east, the captain determined to sail up that. A little while after, they saw Indians in the woods, who at first were dismayed, but afterwards made signs to the French to come on shore. After exchanging presents with the Indians, and taking aboard their pinnace a pillar of hard stone, fashioned like a column, whereon were engraved the arms of the King of France, they sailed three leagues towards the west, where, says Laudonnière, "we discovered a little river, up which we sailed so long, that in the end we found it returned into the great current, and in his return to make a little island, separated from the firm land, where we went on shore; and by commandment of the captain, because it was exceeding fair and pleasant, there we planted the pillar upon a hillock, open round about to the view, and environed with a lake, half a fathom deep, of very good and sweet water." The little river they named the river of Liborne. Then they embarked to search another isle, not far distant, whereon finding nothing but tall cedars, they called it the Isle of Cedars.

A few days afterwards, Ribault, with a body of soldiers, returned to that arm of the river which runs towards the west, and at the same place at which they first saw the Indians, took, by permission of their king, two Indians to carry to France, as the queen had commanded. While these Indians were on board the ship, they spoke to Laudonnière of the greatest

lord of their country, whom they called Chiquola, who dwelt in an enclosure, within which were many houses.

"I began," says Laudonnière, "to shew them all the parts of Heaven, to the intent to learn in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway, one of them, stretching out his hand, shewed me that they dwelt towards the north, which makes me think that it was the river of Jordan. And now, I remember that in the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, certain Spaniards, inhabitants of Saint Domingo, (which made a voyage to get certain slaves to work in their mines,) stole away by subtlety, the inhabitants of this river, to the number of forty, thinking to carry them into their New Spain. But they lost their labour, for, in despite, they died all for hunger, saving one, that was brought to the emperor, which, a little while after, he caused to be baptized, and gave him his own name, and called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this lord of Chiquola, whose subject he was. Also, he reported continually that Chiquola made his abode within a very great enclosed city. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage, have certified me, that the Indians shewed them, by evident signs, that farther within the land, towards the north, there was a great enclosure, or city, where Chiquola dwelt.

"After they (the Indians) had staid awhile in our ships, they began to be sorry, and still demanded of me when they should return. I made them understand that the captain's will was to send them home again, but that first he would bestow apparel on them, which four days after was delivered unto them. But seeing he would not give them license to depart, they resolved with themselves to steal away by night, and to get a little boat which we had, and by the help of the tide, to sail home toward their dwellings,

and by this means to save themselves; which thing they failed not to do, and put their enterprise in execution, yet leaving behind them the apparel which the captain had given them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their own."

At the mouth of the river, Ribault having commanded that all the men of his ship should come upon deck, made an oration to encourage some of his men to dwell there, which was well received. He embarked next morning to select a fit place for the habitation, and was followed by those disposed to inhabit there.

"Having," says Laudonnière, "sailed up the great river on the north side, in coasting an isle which ended with a sharp point towards the mouth of the river, having sailed awhile, he discovered a small river, which entered into the island, which he would not fail to search out: which done, and finding the same deep enough to harbour therein, gallies and galliots in good number, proceeding further he found a very open place, joining upon the bank thereof, where he went on land; and seeing the place fit to build a fortress at, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved incontinent to cause the bigness of the fortification to be measured out. And, considering that there staid but twenty-six there, he caused the fort to be made in length but sixten fathoms, and thirteen in breadth, with flanks according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and captain Salles, we sent unto the ships for men, and to bring shovels, pick-axes and other instruments necessary to make the fortification. We travailed so diligently, that in a short space the fort was made in some sort defencible; in which meantime John Ribault caused victuals and warlike munition to be brought, for the defence of the place."

They called the fort Caroline or Charles Fort, and the river Chenondeau. Ribault made an exhortation to Captain Albert, whom he left in his place, and to the men who staid behind, and then departed, says Laudonnière, "with good hopes, if occasion would permit, to discover perfectly the river of Jordan." Sailing towards the north, after going about fifteen leagues thence, they saw a river, and sent the pinnace to it, which, finding not more than half a fathom of water in its mouth, it was called the Base or Shallow river. As they went on sounding, they found not past five or six fathoms of water, although six good leagues from the shore; and at length not past three fathoms. Stopping for the night, when morning came, Ribault referred to the company what was best to be done. Some answered that he had occasion fully to content himself, since he had discovered more in six weeks than the Spaniards had done in two years, in the conquest of New Spain; and that he should do the king great service if he did bring him news in so short a time, of his happy discovery. Others set forth the loss of food, and likewise the inconvenience that might arise from the shallow water found continually along the coast. "Which things," says Laudonnière, "being well and at large debated, we resolved to leave the coast, forsaking the north to take our way toward the east, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arrived the 20th day of July, the year 1562."

Albert became on good terms with the Indian kings in his vicinity, and visited the country of Stalame, distant fifteen great leagues from Charles Fort; it

was situate to the north, and Albert sailed up the river to get to it. On each side of them the Indians were very friendly: supplying them with provisions, and when their house was burnt by accident, assisting to rebuild it. After a time, however, there was a mutiny, and Albert was killed. The men then built a small pinnace, wherein they might return to France, if no succour came to them; the Indians supplied them with cordage. Their voyage was tedious, and they suffered greatly for want of food and water; so much that, it is said, they eat their shoes and leather jerkins, and some of them died from hunger. In their despair, some among them urged that it was better one should die than so many perish; and it was agreed one should die to sustain the others: the agreement was executed, and his flesh divided among his fellows. At last land was seen, and they were boarded by an English bark, in which was a Frenchman, who had been with Ribault in Florida. It was determined by the Englishmen to land the most feeble, and carry the rest to their queen, who purposed at that time to send to Florida.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Huguenots in France from 1562 to 1564; and the voyage of M. Réné Laudonnière in 1564 from that country to Florida.

In 1562, the duke of Guise determined to pursue the Protestants, sword in hand. Having passed the borders of Champagne, he found them at Vassi, the first of March 1562, singing psalms in a barn. His party insulted them; they came to blows; and of the Protestants nearly sixty were killed and two hundred wounded. The duke of Guise was wounded also. A civil war now raged throughout the kingdom. This was the state of things when Ribault returned to France in July; and this the cause of no immediate succour being sent to the men left in Florida.

The prince of Condé was now the declared chief of the Protestants: he surprised Orleans, which thenceforth became their headquarters. The Huguenots, encouraged by his example, took possession of several cities, among others of Rouen. On the 15th of October, when the army of the king retook Rouen by assault, the king of Navarre received a wound, of which he died the 17th of November. On the 19th of December was the battle of Dreux, where the generals of both armies were made prisoners; the prince of Condé and the constable of Montmorenci. There the marshal of St. André was killed. The duke of Guise, though he had not the

command, gained the victory. That night, his prisoner the prince of Condé slept in the same bed with him: next day the prince related that he had not closed his eyes, but that the duke had slept at his side as profoundly as if they had been the best friends in the world. At the siege of Orleans, on the 24th of February 1563, the duke was killed by a pistol shot, fired by Poltrot de Mercy, a Huguenot nobleman. On the 19th of March, there was an edict of peace; which so far as it gave advantages to the Huguenots, resulted from the fear of their being assisted by England.

In 1564, the plague in several of the cities caused the king to go to the chateau of Roussillon in Dauphiny. There he made an edict, by which he diminished the advantages before granted to the Huguenots. There, too, "the famous ordinance of Roussillon was made, importing that the year should thereafter begin on the first of January, instead of on Holy Saturday, after vespers; the parliament consented to this change only towards the year 1567. It is to be remarked on this subject, that the Romans commenced the year on the first of January, and gave presents on that day; and M. Ducange observes that in France, even when the year commenced at Easter, they still gave presents the first of January."*

This year, (1564,) through the influence of the Lord Admiral De Chastillon, three ships were furnished, one of six score tons, another of one hundred and the third of sixty, to seek out and succour the men left in Florida, of whom nothing had been

* "L'Histoire de France," vol. 2, p. 529, 30.

heard. M. Réné Laudonnière was made chief captain, and has given an account of his proceedings at great length. It is in the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection, page 319 to 349. He embarked at New Haven, the 22d of April 1564, and arrived at Florida (which he calls New France) on the 22d of June, and landed near a little river which is described as thirty degrees from the equator and ten leagues above Cape François, drawing toward the south, and about thirty leagues above the river of May. At the mouth of the river, the channel was found to be very shallow, although farther within the water was found reasonably deep, which separated itself into two great arms, whereof one runs towards the south and the other towards the north. He named it the river of Dolphins. On the 23d, he weighed anchor and sailed toward the river of May, where he arrived two days after. Here he was entertained by the same king who had been met with in the voyage of Ribault: the pillar there erected was still standing and appeared to be treated by the Indians with great reverence.

Laudonnière sailed three leagues up the river, where he was treated with great kindness. He remarks that "more than six great leagues off, near the river Belle, a man may behold the meadows divided asunder into isles and islets, interlacing one another. Briefly," he says, "the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholic would be enforced to change their humour."

Returning to the ships, Laudonnière sailed toward the river of Seine, distant from the river of May about four leagues, and then to the Somme not past

five leagues distant from the Seine. Here, after he had visited the king and returned to the ships, there was a conference, in which it was agreed to be more expedient to seat on the river of May than to go further north to Port Royal; and so sailing again, he arrived at the river of May the 29th of June. He went to the place which had been discovered before, when he sailed up the river.

"On the morrow, about the break of day," proceeds Laudonnière, "I commanded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled, we might give God thanks for our favourable and happy arrival. There we sang a psalm of thanksgiving unto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodness towards us, his poor servants, and aid us in all our enterprises, that all might turn to his glory and the advancement of our king. The prayer ended, every man began to take courage.

"Afterward, having measured out a piece of ground, in form of a triangle, we endeavoured ourselves of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shovel, or cutting hook, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plain by cutting down the trees, as for the building of the fort, which we did hasten in such cheerfulness, that within few days the effect of our diligence was apparent; in which mean space the Paracoussy Satouriona, our nearest neighbour, and on whose ground we built our fort, came, usually accompanied with his two sons and a great number of Indians, to offer to do us all courtesy. And I likewise, for my part, bestowed divers of our trifles frankly on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our

friendship, in such sort, that as the days increased, so our amity and friendship increased also.

"After that our fort was brought into form, I began to build a grange to retire my munition and things necessary for the defence of our fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subjects to make us a covering of palm leaves; and this to the end, that when that was done, I might unfreight my ships, and put under coverture those things that were in them. Suddenly, the Paracoussy commanded, in my presence, all the Indians of his company to dress the next day morning so good a number of palm leaves, that the grange was covered in less than two days; so that business was finished. For in the space of these two days, the Indians never ceased from working, some in fetching palm leaves, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their king's commandment was executed as he desired.

"Our fort was built in form of a triangle. The side toward the west, which was toward the land, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with trusses made in form of a battlement of nine foot high: the other side, which was toward the river, was inclosed with a palisado of planks of timber, after the manner that gabions are made. On the south side there was a kind of bastion, within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, saving about two or three foot high with turfs, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst I caused a great court to be made, of eighteen paces long and broad: in the midst whereof, on the one side drawing toward the south, I builded a *corps de gard*, and an house on the other side toward the north, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high: for within a short time after, the wind beat it down; and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this country, by reason of the winds, whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that inclosed my court, which I made very fair and large, reached unto the grange of my munitions: and

on the other side, toward the river, was mine own lodging, round about which were galleries, all covered. The principal door of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was toward the river. A good distance from the fort I built an oven, to avoid the danger against fire, because the houses are of palm leaves, which will soon be burnt after the fire catches hold of them, so that, with much ado, a man shall have leisure to quench them. Lo, here, in brief, the description of our fortress, which I named Caroline, in honour of our prince, King Charles."

On the 28th of July, the ships departed for France; the 4th of September, Captain Bourdet arrived with other soldiers. About the 10th, Bourdet determined to return to France, and carried with him, at the request of Laudonnière, six or seven soldiers whom the latter could not trust.

From time to time excursions were made up the river to make discoveries of the interior. But these were checked after a while, by some of the mariners and other men stealing away with the barks for the purpose of going to the Antilles. Two larger barks were directed to be built, but when they were nearly ready, a large number of the men mutinied, took the captain into custody, and having armed the vessels, compelled him to sign a passport. The men who went in one of the barks, after committing several piracies, amongst which they took a brigantine and went aboard of it in lieu of their bark, returned to the river of May, where four of them were shot as an example to those whom they had suborned. In the absence of these men, two other barks had been built.

"Two Indians," says Laudonnière, "came unto me one day to salute me on the behalf of their king, whose name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the south, and told me that there was one in the house of King Onathaqua, which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca, another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceived that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours, to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countrys, they would find means that he might be brought unto me, and that I would make them double recompense. They, which love rewards, took so much pains that the two men whereof we have spoken, were brought to the fort unto me. They were naked, wearing their hair long, unto their hams, as the savages used to do, and were Spaniards born, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the country, that at the first sight they found our manner of apparel strange. After that I had questioned of certain matters with them, I caused them to be apparelled and to cut their hair; which they would loose, but lapped it up in a linen cloth, saying that they would carry it into their country to be a testimony of the misery that they had incurred in the Indias. In the hair of one of them was found a little gold, hidden, to the value of five and twenty crowns, which he gave unto me. And examining them of the places where they had been, and how they came thither, they answered me that fifteen years past, three ships, in one of which they were, were cast away over against a place named Calos, upon the flats which are called the Martyrs, and that the king of Calos recovered the greatest part of the riches which were in the said ships travelling, in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saved and many women; among which number there were three or four wo-

men married, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learn what this king was. They answered me that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warrior, and having many subjects under his obedience. They told me, moreover, that he had great store of gold and silver, so far forth, that in a certain village, he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man and as large as a ton: all which wealth the Spaniards fully persuaded themselves that they could cause me to recover, if I were able to march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the country, which had also great store thereof. They further also advertised me, that the women going to dance, did wear about their girdles plates of gold as broad as a saucer, and in such number, that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men wear the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they said, out of the Spanish ships which commonly were cast away in this strait; and the rest by the traffic which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the country: finally that he was had of great reverence by his subjects; and that he made them believe that his sorceries and charms were the causes that made the earth bring forth her fruit: and that he might the easier persuade them that it was so, he retired himself once or twice a year to a certain house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where he used certain enchantments; and if any man intended himself to go to see what they did in this place, the king immediately caused him to be put to death. Moreover, they told me, that every year, in the time of harvest, this savage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expressly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spaniards which by tempest were cast away upon that coast. One of these two declared unto me that he had served him a long time for a messenger; and that often times, by his

commandment, he had visited a king named Oathcaqua, distant from Calos four or five days journey, which always remained his faithful friend; but that in the midway, there was an island situate in a great lake of fresh water, named Sarrope, about five leagues in bigness, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in dates, which grow on the palm trees, whereof they make a wonderful traffic; yet not so great as of a kind of root, whereof they make a kind of meal, so good to make bread of, that it is impossible to eat better, and that for fifteen leagues about, all the country is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the isle gain of their neighbours great wealth and profit; for they will not depart with this root without they be well paid for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that country, as they made good proof when the king of Calos, having made alliance with Oathcaqua, was deprived of Oathcaqua's daughter, which he promised to him in marriage. He told me the whole matter in this sort: As Oathcaqua, well accompanied with his people, carried one of his daughters, exceeding beautiful, according to the colour of the country, unto king Calos, to give her unto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this isle, advertised of the matter, laid an ambush for him, in a place where he should pass, and so behaved themselves, that Oathcaqua was discomfited, the betrothed young spouse taken, and all the damsels that accompanied her; which they carried unto their isle; which thing, in all the Indian country, they esteem to be the greatest victory: for afterwards, they marry these virgins and love them above all measure. The Spaniard that made this relation, told me, that after this defeat, he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had been with him full eight years, even until the time that he was sent unto me. The place of Calos is situate upon a river which is beyond the cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the southwest: and the dwelling of Oathcaqua is on this side the cape, toward the north, in a place which we call,

in the chart, Cannaveral, which is in twenty-eight degrees."

In another place he says:

"The Indians are wont to leave their houses and to retire themselves into the woods, the space of three months, to wit, January, February and March: during which time by no means a man can see one Indian. For when they go on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselves, living upon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their means: and had it not been that I had made good provision thereof, while my men had store, until the end of April (which was the time when at the uttermost, we hoped to have succor out of France) I should have been greatly annoyed. This hope was the cause that the soldiers took no great care to look well unto their victuals, although I divided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the country, without reserving unto myself any more than the least soldier of all the company. The month of May approaching, and no manner of succor come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eat the roots of the earth and certain sorrel which we found in the fields. For although the savages were returned by this time unto their villages, yet they succored us with nothing but certain fish, without which assuredly we had perished with famine. Besides they had given us before, the greatest part of their maize and of their beans for our merchandise. This famine held us from the beginning of May until the middle of June. During which time the poor soldiers and handicraftsmen become as feeble as might be, and being not able to work did nothing but go one after another in centinel unto the clift of an hill, situate very near unto the fort, to see if they might discover any French ship."

It was now resolved to trim up a bark and build a larger ship wherein to return to France; the calculation was that the ships would be ready by the 8th of August. In the mean time food was wanted to sustain the company; and the plan was suggested of seizing on an Indian king, those in favour of it saying that if they had the king, his subjects would not let them suffer for want of food. Laudonnière did not at first agree to this, but in the end consented, to avoid the sedition which he foresaw would ensue if he refused. Departing with fifty of his best soldiers, in two barks, he arrived in the dominions of Utina, distant from the fort about forty or fifty leagues. Then going on shore he drew towards Utina's village, situated six great leagues from the river, and took him prisoner. Yet very small supplies were obtained either by this or any other measure until he sent to the river of Somme. There a great many of the lords of the country had assembled to make merry, and the men got good cheer and their boats laden with meal. In the mean time hostilities had ensued from taking Utina, in which two of the carpenters were slain. The master carpenter then declared himself unable, for want of men, to make the ship by the time he had promised, "which speech caused such a mutiny among the soldiers that very hardly he escaped killing." However, the captain appeased them, and instead of working longer on the ship, repairs were commenced on the brigantine. The men began to beat down the houses without the fort, so that they might have the timber; they beat down also the palisade which was toward the water's side.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Sir John Hawkins; his voyages from London to Africa, to take negroes and sell them; his visit to Laudonnière in Florida, in 1565; and his going home by Newfoundland.

On the 3d of August, Laudonnière descried four sails; it was the fleet of John Hawkins of England, afterwards made a knight; he was on a voyage in which he had taken negroes in Africa, and had been selling them. For the better understanding of this matter, we must go some years back.

It was stated in the twenty-ninth chapter of the first book, page 266, that Diego Columbus departed from Hispaniola the 9th of April 1515. It was not until 1520 that he obtained a decision from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, as to his rights. He sailed in September, and found that, during his absence, considerable changes had taken place. The sugar cane was cultivated in place of working the mines; and slaves had been imported in great numbers from Africa, being found more serviceable in the culture of the cane than the feeble Indians.*

Hawkins having ascertained "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himself to make trial thereof, and communicated that device with his worshipful friends of London, namely, with

* Irving's Columbus, vol. 2, p. 220, 21, Appendix No. 2.

Sir Lionel Duchet, Sir Thomas Lodge, Mr. Gunson his father-in-law, Sir William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and others; all which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpose there were three good ships immediately provided: the one called the Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, wherein M. Hawkins himself went as general; the second the Swallow, of one hundred tons, wherein went for captain M. Thomas Hampton; and the third, the Jonas, a barque of forty tons, wherein the master supplied the captain's room. In which small fleet, M. Hawkins took with him not above one hundred men, for fear of sickness and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

"With this company he put off and departed from the coast of England in the month of December 1562, and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where he received friendly entertainment. From thence he passed to Sierre Leone, upon the coast of Guinea, which place, by the people of the country is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword and partly by other means, to the number of three hundred negroes at the least, besides other merchandises which that country yieldeth. With this prey, he sailed over the Ocean sea unto the island of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella: and there he had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his negroes, trusting the Spaniards no further than that by his own strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto del Plata, where he made like sales, standing always upon his guard; from thence, also, he sailed to Monte Christi, another port on the north side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffic, and made vent of the whole number of his negroes: for which he received in those three

places, by way of exchange, such quantity of merchandise that he did not only lade his own three ships with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantity of pearls, but he freighted also two other hulks with hides and other like commodities, which he sent into Spain. And thus, leaving the island, he returned and disembogued, passing out by the islands of the Caycos, without further entering into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West Indias. And so, with prosperous success, and much gain to himself and the aforesaid adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the month of September 1563."*

About a year after, Hawkins commenced a second voyage. He sailed from Plymouth on the 18th of October 1564, with four ships and one hundred and ninety men, furnished with ordnance and provisions. The business in which he had embarked, was not one which it would be creditable to an English knight to engage in now, but from the way in which his proceedings are related, it is apparent that they were not regarded, at that day, as at all disgraceful. There is no occasion to speak of them till the 12th of December, when he reached Sambula.

"In this island we stayed certain days, going every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns, who before were Sapies and were conquered by the Samboses, inhabitants beyond Sierra Leone. These Samboses had inhabited there three years before our coming thither, and in so short a space have so planted the ground that they had great plenty of millet, rice, roots, pumpkins, also poultry, goats, small fry dried, and every house full of the country fruit planted by God's providence, as palmetto

* Third vol. of Hakluyt, p. 500.

trees, fruits like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that country so abundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously than other. These inhabitants have divers of the Sapies which they took in the wars, as their slaves, whom only they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will work themselves, of whom we took many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the main. All the Samboses have white teeth as we have, far unlike to the Sapies which do inhabit about Rio Grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they do for a bravery, to set out themselves, and do tag their flesh, both legs, arms and bodies, as workmanlike as a jerkinmaker with us pinketh a jerkin. These Sapies be more civil than the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses live most by the spoil of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also, the Sapies do not eat man's flesh unless in the war they have been driven by necessity thereunto, which they have not used but by the example of the Samboses, but live only with fruits and cattle, whereof they have great store. This plenty is the occasion that the Sapies desire not war, except they be thereunto provoked by the invasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of food are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not wont only to take them that they kill, but also keep those that they take, until such time as they want meat, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that provoketh the Samboses to war against the Sapies, which is for covetousness of their riches. For whereas the Sapies have an order to bury their dead in certain places appointed for that purpose, with their gold about them, the Samboses dig up the ground, to have the same treasure: for the Samboses have not the like store of gold, that the Sapies have. In this island of Sambula we found about fifty boats called almadyes, or canoas, which are made of one piece of wood, digged out like a trough, but

of a good proportion, being about eight yards long, and one in breadth, having a beak head and a stern very proportionably made, and on the outside artificially carved, and painted red and blue: they are able to carry twenty or thirty men; but they are about the coast able to carry three score and upward. In these canoas they row standing upright, with an oar somewhat longer than a man, the end whereof is made about the breadth and length of a man's hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them four rowers and one to steer make as much way as a pair of oars in the Thames of London.

"Their towns are prettily divided with a main street at the entering in, that goeth through their town, and another overthwart street which maketh their towns crossways: their houses are built in a rank very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round like a dove-cote, with stakes set full of palmetto leaves, instead of a wall: they are not much more than a fathom large, and two of heighth, and thatched with palmetto leaves very close, other some with reed, and over the roof thereof, for the better garnishing the same, there is a round bundle of reed, prettily contrived like a tower: in the inner part, they make a loft of sticks, whereupon they lay all their provision of victuals: a place they reserve at their entrance for the kitchen, and the place they lie in is divided with certain mats artificially made with the rind of palmetto trees: their bedsteads are of small staves laid along, and raised a foot from the ground, upon which is laid a mat, and another upon them when they list: for other covering they have none. In the middle of the town there is a house larger and higher than the other, but in form alike, adjoining unto which there is a place made of four good stanchions of wood, and a round roof over it, the ground also raised round with clay a foot high, upon the which floor were strewed many fine mats: this is the consultation-house, the like whereof is in all

towns, as the Portugals affirm: in which place, when they sit in council the king or captain sitteth in the midst, and in the elders upon the floor by him, (for they give reverence to their elders,) and the common sort sit round about them. There they sit to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steal but a Portugal cloth from another, he is sold to the Portugals for a slave. They consult also, and take order what time they shall go to wars: and as it is certainly reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruits in the season of the year, and also of palmetto wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourd set for the receiving thereof, which falleth in by drops, and yieldeth fresh wine again within a month, and this divided part and portion like to every man, by the judgment of the captain and elders, every man holdeth himself contented: and this surely I judge to be a very good order: for otherwise, whereas scarcity of palmetto is, every man would have the same, which might breed great strife: but of such things as every man doth plant for himself, the sower thereof reapeth it to his own use, so that nothing is common, but which is unset by man's hands. In their houses there is more common passage of lizards like evets, (newts,) and other greater, of black and blue colour, of near a foot long, besides their tails, than there is with us of mice in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also use in their wars, bows and arrows made of reeds, with heads of iron poisoned with the juice of a cucumber, whereof I had many in my hands. In their battles they have target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heads at both ends, of iron, the one in form of a two edged sword, a foot and an half long, and at the other end, the iron long of the same length made to counterpoise it, that in casting it might lie level, rather than for any other purpose that I can judge. And when they espy the enemy, the captain to cheer his men, cries

Hungry, and they answer Heygre, and with that every man places himself in order, for about every target-man three bow-men will cover themselves, and shoot as they see advantage: and when they give the onset, they make such terrible cries, that they may be heard two miles off. For their belief, I can hear of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in their dreams, and so worship the pictures, whereof we saw some like unto devils. In this island aforesaid we sojourned unto the one and twentieth of December, where having taken certain negroes, and as much of their fruits, rice and millet, as we could well carry away, (whereof there was such store, that we might have laden one of our barks therewith,) we departed, and at our departure divers of our men being desirous to go on shore to fetch pompions, which having proved they found to be very good, certain of the Tiger's men went also, amongst the which there was a carpenter, a young man, who with his fellows having set many, and carried them down to their boats, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tarry while he might go up to fetch a few which he had laid by for himself, who being more lickerous than circumspect, went up without weapon, and as he went up alone, possibly being marked of the negroes that were upon the trees, espying him what he did, perceiving him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupied in binding his pompions together, came behind him, overthrowing him and straight cut his throat, as he was afterwards found by his fellows, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

"The two and twentieth the captain went into the river, called Callowsa, with the two barks, and the John's pinnace and the Solomon's boat, leaving at anchor, in the river's mouth, the two ships, the river being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals rowed: he came thither the five and twentieth, and dispatched his business, and so returned with two caravels, loaded with negroes.

"The 27th the captain was advertised by the Portugals of a town of the negroes, called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not only great quantity of gold, but also that there were not above forty men and an hundred women and children in the town, so that if he would give the adventure upon the same, he might get an hundred slaves; with the which tidings he being glad, because the Portugals should not think him to be of so base a courage, but that he durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous success he had in other islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boat twenty together, determined to stay before the town three or four hours, to see what he could do: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of forty men, well appointed, having to their guides certain Portugals in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: we landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the captain's will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to find gold in their houses, ransacking the same, in the mean time the negroes came upon them, and hurt many, being thus scattered: whereas if five or six had been together, they had been able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to forty of them; and being driven down to take their boats, were followed so hardly by a rout of negroes, who by that took courage to pursue them to their boats, that not only some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by means that the negroes did flee at the first, and our company remained in the town, were suddenly so set upon that some, with great hurt, recovered their boats; othersome not able to recover the same, took the water, and perished by means of the ooze. While this was doing, the captain, who, with a dozen men, went through the town, returned, finding two hundred ne-

groes at the water side, shooting at them in the boats, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose coming they ran all away: so he entered his boats, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned again, and shot very fiercely, and hurt divers of them. Thus we returned back, somewhat discomforted, although the captain, in a singular wise manner, carried himself with countenance very cheerful outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this end, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hindrance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten negroes, and lost seven of our best men, whereof Mr. Field, captain of the Solomon, was one, and we had twenty-seven of our men hurt. In the same hour while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marvellous miracle to them in the ships, who rode ten leagues to seaward, by many sharks or tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Jesus, and four by the Solomon, and one very sore hurt escaped; and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Jesus's men, and four of the Solomon's were killed, and the fifth, having twenty wounds, was rescued, and escaped with much ado.

"The 28th they came to their ships, the Jesus and the Solomon, and the 30th departed from thence to Taggarin.

"The 1st of January, the two barks and both the boats forsook the ships, and went into a river called the Cassenoes; and the 6th, having dispatched their business, the two barks returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anchor. Not two days after the coming of the two ships thither, they put their water cask ashore and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to have

filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore and some at their boats, the negroes set upon them in the boats and hurt divers of them, and came to the casks and cut off the hoops of twelve butts, which lost us four or five days time, besides great want we had of the same. Sojourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went up the river about her traffic, where they saw great towns of the negroes, and canoas that had threescore men in apiece; there they understood by the Portugals of a great battle between them of Sierra Leone side and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leone had prepared three hundred canoas, to invade the other. The time was appointed not past six days after our departure from thence, which we would have seen, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not been for the death and sickness of our men, which was caused by the contagiousness of the place, which made us to make haste away."*

The writer of the narrative seems to have considered that they were engaged in a very holy work; one acceptable to the Almighty God. His account is,

"The 29th of this same month, (January,) we departed with all our ships from Sierra Leone, towards the West Indias, and for the space of eighteen days, we were becalmed, having now and then contrary winds, and some tornados amongst the same calm, which happened to us very ill, being but reasonably watered for so great a company of negroes and ourselves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such fear that many never thought to have reached the Indias, without great death of negroes and of themselves: but the Almighty God, who never suffers his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of February, the ordinary breeze, which is the northwest wind, which

* Third vol. of Hakluyt, p. 504 to 506.

never left us till we came to the island of the Canibals, called Dominica, where we arrived the ninth of March."*

Hawkins found some difficulty in trading in the Spanish islands. The governor of the island of Margarita refused him license to traffic, and sent word to St. Domingo, to the viceroy, who gave orders to places along the coast prohibiting such traffic. On the third of April, Hawkins anchored at a town called Burborata. There he was at first told that they were forbidden by the king to traffic with any foreign nation upon the penalty of forfeiting their goods; but in the end the governor granted his request for a license. There was another thing, the abating the king's custom, being upon every slave thirty ducats, which he still refused to grant.

"Whereupon the captain perceiving that they would neither come near his price he looked for by a great deal, nor yet would abate the king's custom of that they offered, so that either he must be a great loser by his wares, or else compel the officers to abate the same king's custom, which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price, he could not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April, he prepared one hundred men, well armed with bows, arrows, arquebusses and pikes, with the which he marched to the townwards, and being perceived by the governor, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to know his request, desiring him to march no farther forward until he had answer again, which incontinent he should have. So our captain declaring how unreasonable a thing the king's custom was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a half per centum, which is the ordinary custom

*Third vol. of Hakluyt, p. 507.

for wares through his dominions there, and unto this if they would not grant, he would displease them. And this word being carried to the governor, answer was returned that all things should be to his content, and thereupon he determined to depart, but the soldiers and mariners finding so little credit in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the promises, or else they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, we departed, beginning our traffic and ending the same without disturbance."*

On the 19th of May, Hawkins came to the Rio de la Hacha, where, as at Burborata, he told them they might determine either to give him license to trade or else to stand to their arms.

"So upon this, it was determined he should have license to trade, but they would give him such a price as was the one half less than he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to do otherwise with him. Whereupon the captain weighing their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throat in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deal have the like at any other man's hands. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, he would in the morning give them as good a breakfast. And therefore in the morning, being the 21st of May, he shot off a whole culverin to summon the town, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went ashore, having in his great boat two falcons of brass, and in the other boats double bases in their noses, which being perceived by the townsmen, they

* Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 510.

incontinent in battle array, with their drum and ensign displayed, marched from the town to the sands, of footmen to the number of one hundred and fifty, making great brags with their cries and waving us ashore, whereby they made a semblance to have fought with us indeed. But our captain perceiving them so brag, commanded the two falcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small fear to see (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boat. At every shot, they fell flat to the ground, and as we approached near unto them, they broke their array and dispersed themselves so much for fear of the ordnance that at last they went all away with their ensign. The horsemen, also, being about thirty, made as brave a show as might be, coursing up and down with their horses, their brave white leather targets in the one hand and their javelins in the other, as though they would have received us at our landing. But when we landed, they gave ground and consulted what they should do, for little they thought we should have landed so boldly: and therefore as our captain was putting his men in array and marched forward to have encountered with them, they sent a messenger on horseback with a flag of truce to the captain, who declared that the treasurer marvelled what he meant to do to come ashore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to every reasonable request that he did demand: but the captain, not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and said if he would come apart from his men, the treasurer would come and speak with him, whereunto he did agree to commune together. The captain only with his armour, without weapon, and the treasurer on horseback with his javelin, was afraid to come near him for fear of his armour, which he said was worse than his weapon, and so keeping aloof, communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the captain to the com-

pany, they desired to have pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwise when they had made themselves stronger, they would have been at defiance with us: and seeing that now they might have what they would request, they judged it to be more wisdom to be in assurance than to be forced to make any more labours about it. So upon this, gages were sent, and we made our traffic quietly with them."*

Hawkins had with him a Frenchman, Martin Atinas of Diepe, who had been in Florida in 1562 with Ribault, and now guided the English along this coast. They ranged along it, seeking for fresh water, and enquiring of the Floridians where the French inhabited; they were disappointed at not seeing any habitation of the French in twenty-eight degrees, but found the ship and two pinnaces at the river of May, in thirty degrees and better, and sent Atinas as messenger to Laudonnière, at the fort, two leagues up. Two flagons of wine and some wheat bread, brought by Atinas, were very acceptable. Next day, a visit was paid by Hawkins, who seeing the wants of the French, supplied them with meat and other provisions, and offered them a bark, for which they paid him in ordnance.†

"Moreover," says Laudonnière, "for as much as he saw my soldiers go barefoot, he offered me besides fifty pair of shoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gave him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which until this present I am indebted to him. He did more than this: for particularly he bestowed upon myself a great jar of oil, a jar of vinegar, a barrel of olives, and a great quantity of

* Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 512. † Id. p. 347, 8, and p. 516 to 520.

rice and a barrel of white biscuit. Besides, he gave divers presents to the principal officers of my company, according to their qualities: so that I may say, that we received as many courtesies of the general as it was possible to receive of any man living. Wherein, doubtless, he hath won the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed as much of us all as if he had saved all our lives."

In returning, owing to the nature of the winds, Hawkins was as far north as the bank of Newfoundland, where he obtained a great number of fresh cod fish, which gave great relief. After this, with a good wind, he came the 20th of September to Padston, in Cornwall, with the loss of twenty persons in the voyage, but with profit to the adventurers.*

*3 Hakluyt, p. 520, 21.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the voyage of Ribault from France to Florida in 1565; and the massacre there of the French by the Spaniards, under Menendez.

After the departure of Hawkins from the fort, Laudonnière proceeded to get every thing necessary on board his vessel; he was ready to sail, when, on the 28th of August 1565, certain ships were seen. Ribault came in them, bringing a letter from Chastillon, stating his appointment as governor, and desiring Laudonnière to return to France. The ships of Ribault were brought into the river the 4th of September.

In the meantime, the proceedings of the French in Florida, had attracted the attention of the court of Spain. On the 5th of May 1565, the secretary Gonzalo Perez presented to the president of the council of the Indias, some lines from the king, in relation to his rights to Florida, where the French had built a fort. The council was of opinion that the right of the King of Spain was very clear; that it resulted from the donation of Alexander the Sixth, and the taking possession by Angel de Villafañe, on the same shores and in the port which the French were now occupying; and that besides, Guido de las Bazares had pursued the same formality in 1558.

A fleet, (composed of eight ships,) of which Pedro Menendez de Abiles was general, sailed from the bay of Cadiz the 28th of June 1565. Before it set out,

three caravels were sent, at different times, to transmit to Saint Domingo and Havana the orders of the king, as to the conduct to be observed on the arrival of the fleet. When the second of these caravels arrived near the isle of Mona, it is said to have met a French vessel, the men on board of which, forced the caravel to surrender; took possession of its papers, and read the orders given for the conquest of Florida. The Spaniards arrived upon the Florida coast the 28th of August; on the 5th of September, five Spanish encountered four French ships at the mouth of a river. The Spanish general said to a French captain: "What are you doing upon the lands of King Philip? Leave them, for I do not see what you are doing here, nor what you wish to do." The captain dispatched a shallop to his admiral. What the former said, was not known, but the admiral was heard to say in reply: "I am the admiral; I would rather die." Then the French cut their cables, directed themselves towards the full sea, displayed the foremast sails, and passed in the midst of the Spaniards. The Spanish followed the French admiral, summoned him to lower, and soon after directed a small culverin to be fired. Again there was a summons to surrender, and again the reply, rather die than surrender. There was a second fire, which carried off five or six men. One of the French shallops was taken, and during the night the Spanish admiral and captain gave chase to the French admiral and captain. Next morning there was a great tempest; the Spaniards were afraid to continue out at sea, and regained the shore. They went to a river, described as about fifteen leagues

above that of the French; took possession of the country in the name of the king, and built a fort. Three shallops were sent out to seek provisions and some troops which were on board a gallion and another vessel, that had not arrived. Two French ships came behind one of the shallops, with the intention of attacking it, but the wind enabled the shallop to enter a port where the water was not deep enough for the French to follow. The gallion and the other vessel referred to, sailed, one of them for Spain, and the other for Havana. In a severe storm, most of the French vessels were lost at sea.

On the 17th of September, the general set out with five hundred men, to attack the French. The chaplain, well supplied with that bigotry which it was the fashion of the times to mistake for Christianity, expresses the hope that God will do what is necessary, that the Spaniards may propagate his holy Catholic religion, and *destroy the heretics!* On the 22d, there arrived a Frenchman, who said that he was one of sixteen who had been sent from the French fort eight days before, to observe what the Spaniards were doing; that the frigate was wrecked at the mouth of a river, four leagues more to the south, where five perished then, and the next day three were killed by the Indians; that one of his comrades had attempted to regain the port, but he did not know what had become of the rest. He said there were in all seven hundred men in the fort, of whom a third were Lutherans, and they had two priests who preached the Lutheran doctrine; that of the seven hundred, more than two hundred had embarked in the four vessels;

that there were in the camp eight or ten Spaniards, of whom three had been found quite naked among the Indians, having belonged to a vessel which was shipwrecked on the coast long before. The Spaniards afterwards got the frigate afloat, and brought it to their port; there were seen fifteen bodies of the French, who had belonged to the frigate. An hour after the frigate arrived, news came of the victory over the French.

"The enemy did not perceive them until the moment that they were attacked. As it was a heavy morning and rained in torrents, the most part were in bed; some arose in their shirts, others were quite naked and asked for quarter: notwithstanding, a hundred and forty-two of them were killed. The others, who were to the number of about three hundred, scaled the walls; some gained the forest; others took refuge in the ships which were in the river, loaded with wealth; so that in an hour, the fort was in our power, without our having lost a single man and without even one being wounded. There were six ships in the river: we took one brigantine; and a galliot which was not yet finished, as also another ship which had discharged rich merchandize, were run aground."

On the 28th of September, they learnt from the signs of some Indians, that on the coast towards the south, they had seen a vessel which was wrecked. The admiral was immediately ordered to arm a shallop, and go with fifty men thither: the general followed with twelve men, in another shallop. Upon reaching the French, one of them came to speak to the general.

"He told him of their shipwreck and of the extremity in which they were; that they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days. He admitted that all or at least the most part of them were Lutherans. Immediately the general sent him back to his comrades to tell them to surrender and bring their arms; that otherwise, he would put them all to the sword. A French serjeant came with the response of the enemy: he said, they would surrender on condition that their lives were spared. After a good deal of talking, our general replied that he would not give his word; that they ought to surrender at discretion and put down their arms, because if he granted to them life, he wished them to make acknowledgment of it, and if on the contrary, he put them to death, they could not complain. Seeing they had no other resource, the serjeant returned to his camp, and a little time after, all brought their arms and their clothes: they gave them to the general and surrendered at discretion."

It is curious to see in what manner the chaplain relates the cruel massacre which then occurred.

"Seeing that all were Lutherans, his lordship took the resolution of condemning them all to death; but as I was a priest, and as I had the bowels of a man, I prayed him to grant to me one favour, that of not putting to death those whom we should find to be Christians. He granted it to me. I made some examination. I found of them ten or twelve whom we carried away; all the others were executed because they were Lutherans, enemies of our Holy Catholic faith. All this took place on Saturday, the day of Saint Michael, the 22d of September 1565. A hundred and twelve Lutherans were there put to death without counting fourteen or fifteen prisoners."

Such is the account of this inhuman transaction, as told by the Spaniards themselves; such the relation of Francisco Lopes de Mendoza, chaplain of the expedition of Pedro Menendez, as it is found in a volume of pieces on Florida, published at Paris in 1841, in the collection of H. Ternaux-Compans.

In the same volume is the French account; a republication of a small book, printed at Lyons in 1566, by Jean Saugrain, (a bookseller,) in which the following statements are made:

On the 3d of September there arrived near our shipping, five Spanish ships. At night they spoke together. The French asked why, and to what end they were seeking them? They replied that they considered them enemies; that the war was sufficiently declared. The French raised their sails, and the Spaniards made chase; after which, the Spaniards retired to the river of the Dauphins. Three of the French ships afterwards returning to the road, Ribault deliberated on going with these three to find the Spaniards, and concluded that he ought to shew himself against them on the waters. On the 10th of September, the captain embarked, taking not only the soldiers, newly arrived, but also the best of those who were there before. On the 11th, when the French ships were near some of the Spanish, a tornado arose, which separated them; the tempest lasted till the 23d.

Those who remained in the fort, were composed partly of the sick, partly of artizans, and partly of women and little children; the whole numbering two hundred and forty souls. Most of these were in the fort asleep; and the guard, having had a bad time all

night, had lain down to refresh themselves, when on the 20th day of September, in the morning, the Spaniards entered the fort without resistance, and did horrible execution: cutting the throats of the healthy and the sick, the women and the little children, so that it is not possible to conceive a massacre which could exceed it in cruelty and barbarity. Some of the French escaped to the ships, in the river. Some having reached the woods, six of them thought it might be the least of evils to return and surrender themselves to the Spaniards. But these six, on coming out of the woods, meeting some of the Spaniards, were seized and treated no better than the rest. The French, from whom the six parted in the woods, one of whom is the writer of this relation, after much difficulty, joined Laudonnière and his party of twenty-six persons, and with them reached the ship of captain Maillard, near which was another ship. The company being divided between the two vessels, they sailed on the 25th of September, but were soon separated, and did not meet again. The vessel in which the author of this narrative sailed, encountered on the way a Spanish ship, but the French got the better of it. They landed on the coast of Rochelle.

Jean Ribault, during five days that he was seeking the Spaniards, did not find them, but met the admiral of his fleet named the Trinity. In the tempest, these two ships were driven on the coast below the river of May, about fifty leagues by sea and twelve by land; the vessels were broken, and their munitions lost. Captain La Grange having thrown himself upon a mast, was swallowed up by the waters; the rest of

the men reached the land. For eight days they suffered greatly from hunger and thirst. The river of the Dauphins, very deep and about a quarter of a league wide, was between them and the fort; they could not pass it without a vessel. On the 9th, they found a small bark. Ribault, ignorant of the massacre at the fort, was of opinion that some of the men should go thither in the bark, to inform the people there of the wreck and their condition. Sixteen were selected for the purpose. The same day the Spaniards came.

"Our French in such an abyss of anguish, as a last resource, sent some of the company to make an offer to surrender if their lives were spared. The delegates were apparently received with humanity. The captain of this Spanish company, whose name was Vallemande, protested on the faith of a gentleman, a chevalier and a christian, of his good will towards the French; that they should be treated according to the usage which had been in all time practised in war when the Spaniards were victorious. He declared so that all might be persuaded of this fair promise, that he would never do in this place what nations could afterwards resent, and immediately caused to be accoutred a bark in which five Spaniards passed beyond our people. Captain Jean Ribault entered among the first in the bark with others to the number of thirty. The reception of him was sufficiently humane, but the others which were in his company were carried far behind him and all tied, two and two, their hands behind the back. Then the rest passed thirty at a time, whilst Vallemande was discoursing in fair but hypocritical words with this good captain John Ribault, who relied simply on the faith of this Vallemande to whom he had surrendered. Our men being all passed, were thus tied

together two and two, and all went together, French and Spaniards, towards the fort. The captain Jean Ribault and others, particularly Signor d'Ottigny, when they saw our men thus coupled together, began to change colour and commended themselves to the faith of Signor de Vallemande who assured them saying that the tying was only to carry them to the fort in safety, and that there he would keep to them what he had promised. As they came very near the fort, he began to inquire concerning those who were sailors, ship carpenters, gunners and others who would be useful for offices of the marine. These being chosen were found to number thirty men. Soon after was seen coming from the fort a company to meet our people, whom they made march behind Vallemande and his company, as you would see a troop of beasts which they were driving to slaughter. Then to the sound of fifes, drums and trumpets, the courage of these furious Spaniards was displayed against the poor French who were tied with cords: Then it was to whom they should give the best blow with an axe, halberd or sword, so that in half an hour, they gained the field and bore off this glorious victory, killing villainously those who had surrendered and been received on their faith and safeguard. During this cruelty, captain John Ribault made some remonstrances to Vallemande to save his life; even Signor d'Ottigny, throwing himself at his feet, reminded him of his promise: but all this availed nothing; for the backs being turned, he marched behind them and one of his executioners struck from behind with a dagger captain Jean Ribault. He fell on the ground and soon after there were two or three other blows which ended his life."

This relation, appears to have been gathered in part, at least, from one of the French sailors named Christopher Le Breton, of Havre de Grace, who after making the voyage with the Spaniards from Florida

to Spain secretly withdrew from the City of Seville to Bordeaux.

There is a further account of this massacre by Laudonnière, in the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection, page 352 to 355.

Such conduct would scarcely have been ventured upon by the Spaniards towards citizens of France in time of peace but for the strength of the Catholic party in the latter kingdom, and their hostility to the Protestants. In this year Philip the Second, in consequence of the revolt in the low countries, having sent thither the Duke of Alba, there was an interview at Bayonne of the king and Catharine of Medicis, with Philip's queen and the Duke of Alba. Catharine, under the pretext of the passage of the duke into the low countries, caused troops to be raised, by way of precaution, she said, against him. The Huguenots of France as well as of the low countries viewed this with distrust. They wished to prevent the establishment of the inquisition, and the King of Spain was disposed to punish them. The measure of Catharine, just mentioned, it has been said, irritated those in France and gave rise to the second civil war.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the chevalier de Gourgue; his chivalrous enterprise; the manner in which the massacre of the French in Florida by the Spaniards in 1565 was avenged by him at the same place in 1568.

In 1567 the Duke of Alba had arrived in the low countries and arrested the Count of Egmont and the Count de Horn. In France the Huguenots with the Prince of Condé and the Admiral de Coligni at their head, wished to take possession of the person of the king who was at Monceaux; the queen was informed of it and withdrew to Meaux, whence the Swiss, commanded by their colonel, carried the king to Paris.*

It was in this year that the chevalier de Gourgue carried out his singular and chivalrous enterprise, of which there is an account in a volume of pieces on Florida, published at Paris in 1841, in Ternaux's Collection; in the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection, page 356 to 360; and in Hawkins's Quebec, page 78 to 85.

Gourgue was born at Mount Marsan in Gascony, and was in the armies of different princes for twenty-five or thirty years. When a captain near Sienna in Tuscany, he sustained with thirty soldiers the brunt of a part of the Spanish army; here, when his men had been cut to pieces, he was taken and put into a galley, which going towards Sicily was taken by the

* "L'histoire de France," printed at Paris in 1775, vol. 2, p. 533.

Turks, carried to Rhodes and then to Constantinople. It was shortly afterwards recovered by Romeguas, commander of the army of Malta. Returning home, Gourgue made a voyage on the coast of Africa, whence he went to Brazil and the South sea.

"He had," says Hawkins, "just returned to France from one of his voyages, with the reputation of the bravest and most able among her navigators, when he heard of the disastrous tale of La Caroline, and the disgraceful manner in which his countrymen had been put to death by the Spaniards. Like a patriot, he felt keenly for the honour of his country; and as a man, he burned for an opportunity of satiating his long dormant revenge on the perfidious Spaniards, for their unworthy treatment of himself. At this time, too, there was circulated in France a narrative intituled, the 'Supplication of the widows and children of those who had been massacred in Florida,' calculated to rouse the national feeling to the highest pitch. These united motives urged De Gourgue to a chivalrous undertaking—no less than to chase the murderous invaders from the coasts of Florida at the sword's point, or to die in the attempt."

With funds obtained by borrowing from his friends and selling part of his property, he fitted out three ships, with from one hundred to one hundred and fifty soldiers and eighty mariners, and set forth in August 1567. At the end of the isle of Cuba, about two hundred leagues from Florida, his intention, hitherto concealed from his men, was disclosed to them; their ready assent and purpose to coöperate with him, were immediately expressed, and they soon reached Florida. The Spaniards saluted them with cannon,

supposing them of their nation, and Gourgue returned the salute, that they might retain this impression, and he the more easily surprise them. Sailing out of their sight, he landed at the mouth of the Seine, fifteen leagues from the Spanish fort. The shore here was covered with the natives, with whose chief Olocatara, a league was quickly formed; the outrages of the Spaniards upon the Indians, causing a desire in them no less than in the French, to be avenged. Gourgue, too, had an opportunity of examining Peter de Bré, a stripling who had escaped out of the fort, while the Spaniards murdered the rest of the French, and was brought up by the Indians. All met at the river of Sarauaki. Gourgue learned that the Spaniards were four hundred strong, divided into three forts upon the river of May, one where the French had theirs, and two leagues nearer the mouth, a fort on each side of the river. One of these last was the subject of the first assault. As soon as Gourgue and his comrades had passed over the small river that falls down thereby, they prepared for the assault. It was on Sunday eve next after Easter day, in April 1568.

Gourgue "gave twenty shot to his lieutenant Cazenove, and ten mariners laden with pots and balls of wild fire to burn the gate; and then he assaulted the fort on another side, after he had made a short speech unto his men of the strange treasons which the Spaniards had played their companions. But being descried as they came holding down their heads within two hundred paces from the fort, the gunner being upon the terrace of the fort, after he had cried 'arm, arm, these be Frenchmen,' discharged twice upon them a culverin whereon the arms of France were

graven, which had been taken from Laudonnière. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olocatara, which had not learned to keep his rank, or rather moved with rage, leapt on the platform, and thrust him through the body with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgue advanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenove cry, that the Spaniards which had issued out armed at the cry of the alarm, were fled, he drew to that part and so hemmed them in between him and his lieutenant, that of three score, there escaped not a man, saving only fifteen reserved unto the same death which they had put the French unto. The Spaniards of the other fort in the meanwhile ceased not to play with their ordnance, which much annoyed the assailants: although to answer them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the four pieces found in the first fort. Whereupon Gourgue being accompanied with fourscore shot went aboard the bark which met him there to good purpose, to pass into the wood near unto the fort, out of which he supposed the Spaniards would issue to save themselves through the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from the same. Afterward the savages not staying for the return of the bark, leapt all into the water, holding up their bows and arrows in one hand and swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seeing both the shores covered with so great a number of men, thought to flee toward the woods: but being charged by the French and afterwards repulsed by the savages toward whom they would have retired, they were sooner than they would, bereft of their lives. To conclude, they all there ended their days, saving fifteen of those which were reserved to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon captain Gourgue having caused all that he found in the second fort to be transported unto the first, where he went to strengthen himself to take resolution against the great fort, the state whereof he did not un-

derstand: in fine a sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very near three hundred well furnished under a brave governor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours. Thus having obtained of him the platform, the height, the fortification and passages unto it, and having prepared eight good ladders, and raised all the country against the Spaniard, that he might neither have news, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meanwhile the governor sent a Spaniard disguised like a savage to spy out the state of the French. And though he were discovered by Olocatara, yet he used all the cunning he could possibly to persuade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which having escaped, and seeing none but savages on every side, he hoped more in the Frenchmen's than their mercy, unto whom he came to yield himself disguised like a savage, for fear lest if he should have been known, he should have been massacred by those barbarians: but the spy being brought face to face with the sergeant of the band, and convicted to be one of the great fort, was reserved until another time: after that he had assured Gourgue that the bruit was that he had two thousand Frenchmen with him, for fear of whom the two hundred and threescore Spaniards which remained in the great fort were greatly astonished. Whereupon Gourgue being resolved to set upon them while they were thus amazed, and leaving his standard-bearer and a captain with fifteen shot to keep the fort and the entry of the river, he caused the savages to depart by night to lie in ambush within the woods on both sides of the river; then he departed in the morning, leaving the sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to show him that indeed which they had only made him understand before in painting. As they marched, Olocatara, a resolute savage which never left the captain, said unto him that he had served him faithfully, and done whatsoever he

had commanded him, that he was assured to die in the conflict at the great fort, wherein nevertheless he would not fail, though it were to save his life: but he prayed him to give that unto his wife, if he escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that she might bury the same with him, that thereby he might be better welcome unto the village of the souls or spirits departed. To whom captain Gourgue answered, after he had commended his faithful valour, the love toward his wife, and his noble care of immortal honour, that he desired rather to honour him alive than dead, and that by God's help he would bring him home again with victory. After the discovery of the fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their cannon shot, nor of two double culverins, which being mounted upon a bulwark, commanded all along the river, which made captain Gourgue to get to the hill covered with wood, at the foot whereof the fort beginneth, and the forest of wood continueth and stretcheth forth beyond it: so that he had sufficient coverture to approach thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remain there until the morning, wherein he was resolved to assault the Spaniards by scaling their walls on the side toward the hill, where the trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the curtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should show themselves to defend the rampart while the rest were coming up. But the governor hastened his unhappy destiny, causing threescore shot to sally forth, which passing through the trenches, advanced forward to descry the number and valour of the French, whereof twenty under the conduct of Cazenove, getting between the fort and them which now were issued forth, cut off their re-passage, while Gourgue commanded the rest to charge them in the front, but not to discharge but near at hand, and so that they might be sure to hit them, that afterwards with more ease they might cut them in pieces

with their swords. So that turning their backs as soon as they were charged and compassed in by his lieutenant, they remained all slain upon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged, were so astonished, that they knew none other mean to save their lives, but by fleeing into the woods adjoining, where nevertheless being encountered again by the arrows of the savages which lay in wait there for them, (whereof one ran through the target and body of a Spaniard, which therewithal fell down stark dead,) some were constrained to turn back, choosing rather to die by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselves that none of them could find any favour neither with the one nor the other nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, saving those which were reserved to be an example for the time to come. The fort when it was taken, was found well provided of all necessaries: namely of five double culverins and four minions, with divers other small pieces of all sorts, and eighteen gross cakes of gunpowder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgue caused with speed to be embarked, saving the powder and other moveables, by reason it was all consumed with fire through the negligence of a savage, which in seething of his fish, set fire to a train of powder which was made and hidden by the Spaniards to have feasted the French at the first assault, thus blowing up the storehouse and the other houses built of pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the general had showed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French nation, were all hanged on the boughs of the same trees whereon the French hung; of which number five were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiving himself in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault and the just judgment which God had brought upon him. But instead of the writing which Pedro Menendes had hanged over them, importing

these words in Spanish, '*I do not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto Lutherans*,' Gourgue caused to be imprinted with a searing iron, in a table of firwood, '*I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor as unto mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers and murderers.*' Afterwards considering he had not men enough to keep his forts which he had won, much less to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard, which hath dominions near adjoining, should renew his forces, or the savages should prevail against the Frenchmen, unless his majesty would send thither, he resolved to raze them. And indeed after he had assembled, and in the end persuaded all the savage kings so to do, they caused their subjects to run thither with such affection that they overthrew all the three forts flat, even with the ground, in one day. This done by Gourgue, that he might return to his ships, which were left in the river of Seine, called Tacatacouro, fifteen leagues distant from thence he sent Cazenove and the artillery by water: afterwards with fourscore arquebussiers, armed with corslets and matches light, followed with forty mariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to have in so many savages, he marched by land always in battle array, finding the ways covered with savages, which came to honour him with presents and praises, as the deliverer of all the countries round about adjoining. An old woman among the rest, said unto him, that now she cared not any more to die, since she had seen the Frenchmen once again in Florida and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly being arrived, and finding his ships set in order, and every thing ready to set sail, he counselled the kings to continue in the amity and ancient league which they had made with the king of France which would defend them against all nations: which they all promised, shedding tears because of his departure, Olocatara especially: for appeasing of whom, he promised them to return within twelve moons, (so they count the

years,) and that his king would send them an army, and store of knives for presents, and all other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leave of them, and assembled his men, he thanked God of all his success since his setting forth, and prayed to him for an happy return. The third day of May 1568, all things were made ready, the rendezvous appointed, and the anchors weighed to set sail so prosperously, that in seventeen days they ran eleven hundred leagues: continuing which course, they arrived at Rochelle the sixth of June, the four and thirtieth day after their departure from the river of May, having lost but a small pinnace and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slain in the assaulting of the forts. After the cheer and good entertainment which he received of those of Rochelle, he sailed to Bordeaux to inform Monsieur Monluc of the things above mentioned, albeit he was advertised of eighteen pinnaces and a great ship of two hundred tons, full of Spaniards, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochelle, came as far as Che-de Bois, the same day that he departed thence and followed him as far as Blay, (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux,) to make him yield another account of his voyage than that wherewith he made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholic being afterwards informed that Gourgue could not easily be taken, offered a great sum of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreover King Charles to do justice on him as of the author of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendship. Insomuch as coming to Paris to present himself unto the king to signify unto him the success of his voyage, and the means which he had to subdue this whole country unto his obedience, (wherein he offered to employ his life and all his goods,) he found his entertainment and answer so contrary to his expectation, that in fine he was constrained to hide himself a long space in the court of

Roan, about the year 1570. And without the assistance of president Marigny, in whose house he remained certain days, and of the receiver of Vacquiéux, which always was his faithful friend, he had been in great danger. Which grieved not a little Dominique de Gourgue, considering the services which he had done as well unto him as to his predecessors, kings of France."*

The preceding extract is from Hakluyt, who concludes his account by saying that Gourgue "died in the year 1582, to the great grief of such as knew him." Champlain seems also to have been a great admirer of his conduct. The account given of the expedition, in Champlain's Voyages, closes in these terms:

"Thus did this brave knight repair the honour of the French nation, insulted by the Spaniards; which otherwise had been an everlasting subject of regret to France, if he had not avenged the affront received from the Spanish people. A generous enterprise, undertaken by a gentleman, and executed at his own cost, for honour's sake alone, without any other expectation; and one which resulted in obtaining for him a glory far more valuable than all the treasures of the world."†

* Vol. 3 of Hakluyt, p. 358. † Hawkins's Quebec, p. 85.

CHAPTER XXII.

Communication from Robert Greenhow, Esq., stating that the Spaniards in 1566, had knowledge of, and in 1573 visited a bay called Santa Maria, in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees; and suggesting that this bay must have been the Chesapeake.

The following communication to the Historical Society of Virginia, from one of its corresponding members, imparts matter of much interest, and new, it is believed, to most Virginians:

"WASHINGTON CITY, May 1848.

"I have the honour to address to the Virginia Historical Society, the accompanying '*Memoir on the first Discovery of Chesapeake Bay*,' embracing some information on that subject, obtained in the course of researches among the old Spanish Chroniclers of the New World, for my '*History of Florida, Louisiana and Texas*,' now in the press. Those works have been most lamentably neglected by our historians; few of whom have, indeed, possessed a knowledge of the language in which they are written, sufficient for such investigations; and innumerable are the facts relating to the countries now included, as well as to those about to be included, within the limits of our republic, which still remain unnoticed, though recorded in full in those venerable volumes. Some of these works have, it is true, been long since translated into English, and abstracts of others have been made; but all so imperfectly, that it would be difficult to suppose from them, that the

pages of Cortes, Bernal Dias and Herrera, were not less interesting than those of Froissart, Joinville and Comines.

"The facts stated in the accompanying memoir, may serve to exemplify this assertion; and I may add, that proofs, undeniable, exist of the discovery of the Mississippi by the Spaniards, many years before the expedition of Hernando de Soto in 1541; notwithstanding which, a picture is now in progress, by order of our government, *in commemoration of the discovery of the great river by that renowned captain*, destined to adorn the rotunda of the capitol.

"I will take the liberty, in conclusion, to recommend to the Society, in the publication of the Annals of Virginia, which is soon to be commenced, while preserving the exact words of the old historians, in quotations or extracts, to give them in the modern orthography; as I know, from observation, that the ancient orthography will repel a large proportion of the ordinary readers, to whom such extracts would present all the difficulties of a new language, unless this rule should be observed.

"With the hope that the Society may succeed in the objects for which it has been instituted, in rescuing from destruction the historical monuments and records of our Ancient Dominion, and in bringing to light those which lie hidden in obscurity,

"I remain, with great respect,

"Its unworthy corresponding member,

ROBERT GREENHOW.

"To the VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Richmond, Virginia."

Memoir on the first discovery of the Chesapeake Bay. Communicated to the Virginia Historical Society, by Robert Greenhow. May 1848.

"The Bay of Chesapeake is usually supposed to have been first seen, and entered by the English, under Gosnold, Smith and Newport, who founded the earliest European settlement on its waters in 1607. The only allusion to it, in any English account of anterior date, appears in the narrative, by Ralph Lane, of the proceedings of the colonists sent by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585, to occupy the country, then first named Virginia, bordering upon the two bays now known as Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. He there relates, that an exploring party of English had penetrated northward from their settlement on Roanoke island, between the two sounds, one hundred and thirty miles, to the country of the Chesepians or of Chesepiook; and he had been at the same time told by an Indian king, '*that going three days journey in a canoe, up his river of Chawanok, (the Chowan,) and then descending to the land, you are within four days journey, to pass over land, northeast to a certain king's country, whose province lieth upon the sea; but his place of greatest strength, is an island, situate, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water about the island very deep.' The country of the Chesepiooks, here mentioned, we afterwards learn from Smith (page 65) to have been on Elizabeth's river, near the southernmost shore of Chesapeake bay; as, indeed, its position and distance with reference to Roanoke island, plainly indicate. The bay described by the King of Chawanok, could have been no other than the Chesapeake; Lane laments that he had not been able to explore it by way of the river, as well as

* Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, &c. original edition of 1589, page 738, or edition of 1600, vol. iii. page 255. The copy of the narrative in Smith's History is very imperfect. Smith's History of Virginia has been consulted in the original edition of 1624.

by vessels sent along the coast to its entrance; particularly as he was assured, that it yielded 'great store of pearls,' and that it received a large river called Moratuc, running from the west.

"This is all that appears on record, concerning the bay, in any English authority, earlier than 1607: nor is any indication of its existence given, in any map, anterior to that date, except in that of the New World, attached to the sixth part of Debry's celebrated collection, (1596,) containing Lane's narrative, on which a bay is represented, as extending to some distance westward from the Atlantic, under the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, with a river called Moratuc entering its upper extremity. The accounts of Raleigh's colonies had been carefully studied by Gosnold, Smith and the other projectors of their expedition; and it is therefore possible, that they may have intended on leaving England to make the bay mentioned by Lane their place of disembarkation. Smith calls it (page 42) their 'desired port;' yet he at the same time states, that they were driven into it, through the providence of God, by an 'extreme storm,' after Ratcliffe, one of their captains, had proposed to abandon the enterprise, and return to England, because they had 'three days passed their reckoning, and found no land:' which seems rather to show, that they were bound for Wocokon inlet, the entrance to Roanoke island.

"Accordingly in all our histories, the discovery of the Chesapeake is attributed to the English, at one or the other of the periods here mentioned. When and by whom that name was given to the bay, is not directly stated. Stith had been informed (page 13 of his History of Virginia,) 'that Chesapeake signified in the Indian language, the *mother of waters*, implying that it was the parent and grand reservoir of all the great rivers within it. But this,' he properly observes in continuation, 'was a dark and uncertain guess;

especially considering the unstableness and vast mutability of the Indian tongues, and that nobody at present can pretend to understand their language at that time.' Barbarians in fact, very seldom have fixed specific names for places, unless they are marked by strong peculiarities. 'The best authority,' adds Stith, 'that I have met with for this derivation, is what a gentleman of credit once assured me, that in a very old Spanish map which he had seen, our bay was laid down under the name of *Madre des acquas* [*Madre de aguas*] or some expression to the like purpose.' More probably, however, the Chesapeake Indians, inhabiting the country on the southernmost side of the bay, between Cape Henry and Hampton Roads, were the first people met by the English in 1607; and their name may have been transferred to the bay, as those of Pamunkey, Potomac and Susquehannock, were subsequently assigned to the rivers, on which the nations so called, respectively dwelt.

"It would, however, have been strange, that this great basin should have remained thus long unknown to the Spaniards, who had, as early as 1526, not only explored the whole coast, from the Mexican gulf northward, to and beyond the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, but had even attempted to form a settlement about that parallel: considering, moreover, that their vessels on the way from Mexico, and the West Indies to Europe, sailed in the vicinity of the main land nearly as far as Cape Hatteras, before striking across the Atlantic, and must have been often driven much farther in the same direction. But without dwelling on these probabilities, there is evidence apparently incontrovertible, that the Chesapeake was known to the Spaniards, and that an expedition had been made by them for the occupation of its coasts, at least twenty years before any attempt of the English to establish themselves in any part of the American continent.

"The evidence here mentioned, is contained in the Chronological History or Annals of Florida, published at Madrid

in 1723, under the title of '*Ensayo Chronologico Para la Historia de la Florida. Por Don Gabriel de Cardenas Z. Cano.*' The name thus given on the title page of the work, is fictitious, being an anagram of that of its real author, Don Andres Gonzales Barcia, who did such good service in the cause of American history, by the republication of Herrera, Torquemada, and many other narratives of the early discoveries and proceedings of his countrymen in the New World, then nearly out of print. The work now in question, was composed in great part from original documents in the archives of the council of the Indies, and of the Franciscan order in Spain, to which he had access; and its extreme minuteness on all points, with little regard to their importance, while rendering the book intolerable to the general reader, gives it at the same time the highest value as evidence, where accuracy is required. On the point now under consideration, he says indeed but little; so little as entirely to dispel all idea, that he could have fabricated or exaggerated in any respect; yet that little is sufficiently clear for the establishment of the fact asserted in the preceding paragraph.

"Every one is acquainted with the dreadful circumstances which attended the foundation of St. Augustine, the oldest settlement of Europeans in our Republic, which has subsisted to the present day. The blood of the six hundred French Protestants, who had sought an asylum in that country from persecution in their own land, has sanctified the ground at the entrance of St. John's river, and of Matanzas inlet, where they were coolly murdered, 'not as Frenchmen, but as heretics,' by the ruthless Adelantado* of Florida, Pedro Menendez, in 1565. But Menendez was no common man. He foresaw the absolute necessity of extending the dominion of Spain over the adjoining coasts,

* The title of Adelantado was originally assigned to the governors of frontier provinces in Spain: in the New World it was held by those who received commissions to discover, conquer and possess unknown countries. Menendez was the last who bore it.

in order to prevent them from being occupied by her rivals; and having himself explored the peninsula of Florida, with that object, he ordered surveys to be made of the countries farther north, which were for some years prosecuted by soldiers and missionaries, though with but little advantage. In the meantime, however, while lying with his squadron in the river of San Matheo, now the St. John, in the summer of 1566, 'he dispatched, writes Barcia, (page 119,) a captain with thirty soldiers and two monks of the order of St. Dominick, to the bay of Santa Maria, *which is in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees*, together with the Indian, brother to the cacique of Axacan, (who had been brought by the Dominicans from that province, and baptized at Mexico, by the name of the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco,) to settle in that region, and to endeavour to convert its inhabitants to Christianity.'

"This province of Axacan, comprised the lower part of the present state of North Carolina, towards which the Spaniards were endeavouring to extend their settlements, from Santa Helena, near the mouth of the Combohee river, where they had formed a large establishment in the preceding year. It may be observed, that the Spanish sound of this name is scarcely distinguishable from Wocokon, the name of the place according to its English pronunciation, at which the colonists of the latter nation landed in 1685. The result of the Spanish expedition is thus related by Barcia (page 123):

"'The captain, who went with the Indian Luis de Velasco, to the bay of Santa Maria, was overcome by his crew, acting under the influence of the two monks, who, accustomed to the delights of Peru and Spain, were not inclined to enter upon a life of labour, privation and dangers; and the soldiers needing little persuasion to induce them to turn back, made false depositions to the effect, that they had been prevented by storms from reaching the bay of

Santa Maria. So they sailed with a fair wind for Seville, abusing the King and the Adelantado for attempting to settle in that country, of which they spread the worst accounts, though none of them had seen it.'

"Thus it appears, that the bay of Santa Maria, joining the Atlantic Ocean, in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees, in which the entrance of the Chesapeake is situated—the thirty-seventh parallel running just midway between Cape Henry and Cape Charles—was so well known to the Spaniards in 1566, that an expedition was made for the purpose of taking possession of the surrounding country. We do not learn that the attempt was repeated. It appears, however, from Barcia, (page 146,) that

"'In 1573, Pedro Menendez Morquez, governor of Florida, for his uncle the Adelantado, reduced many Indian nations to obedience, and took possession of their provinces, for the king, in presence of Rodrigo de Carnon, the notary of the government of Santa Helena. Being, moreover, himself a good seaman, he had been admiral of the fleet, according to Francisco Cano—he, by order of the Adelantado, examined the coasts from the cape of Martyrs [Cape Sable] and the peninsula of Tequesta, [the southernmost portion of Florida,] where it begins to run north and south, at the outlet of the Bahama channel, along the land, to and beyond the port and bay of Santa Maria, which is three leagues wide, and is entered towards the northwest. In this bay are many rivers and harbours, on both sides, in which vessels may anchor. Within its entrance, on the south, the depth is from nine to thirteen fathoms,* and on the north side, from five to seven: at two leagues from it, in the sea, the depth is the same, on the north and the south, but there is more sand, within. In the channel, there are from nine to thirteen fathoms; in the bay fifteen,

* The Spanish *braza*, or fathom, contains six Spanish feet, equal to about five feet nine inches English.

ten and six fathoms, and in some places the bottom cannot be reached with the lead.'

"Farthermore, after relating the particulars of the governor's voyage from the cape of Martyrs to Santa Helena, Barcia proceeds thus, (page 148,) with regard to the course from the latter place 'to the bay of Santa Maria, in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees and a half. He steered northeastward, and after sailing a hundred and ten leagues, in water of from sixteen to twenty fathoms deep, he passed over the edge of a shoal running directly northward, the point of which is in thirty-four degrees and three quarters, having between it and the land, a passage two fathoms deep, but of little width. Continuing towards the east, one quarter northeast, he found another shoal, with a good passage on the land side; it is in thirty-five degrees, and runs six leagues in the sea, northwest and southeast, to the distance of thirty leagues, from the bay of Santa Maria. The coast is thereabouts very clear, so that you may sail near to the land, and anchor at some distance from it. There are on it three or four rivers, one of them very good, and three sand islets, like turtle shells or shields, about six leagues from the bay of Santa Maria, all three being within the space of a league. And he [the governor] thus went, as I have said, beyond the port and bay of Santa Maria.'

"This is all that Barcia says of the bay of Santa Maria; and nothing has been found with regard to it elsewhere. Those who are familiar with the old historians of America, will admit, that the descriptions thus given, are more than usually clear and definite, and correspond in a remarkable degree, with the true state of the places to which they refer. The shoal mentioned in the last quoted paragraph, in latitude of thirty-four degrees and three quarters, is evidently the same which runs out from Cape Look Out in North Carolina; and the other shoal, twenty-two leagues farther

northeast, and thirty leagues from the Bay of Santa Maria, may be at once identified with that which renders the passage around Cape Hatteras so much dreaded by our mariners. Cape Hatteras is thirty-four leagues from Cape Henry, the southern point of the entrance to the Chesapeake: that entrance is four leagues in width: the depth of its channel varies from six to thirteen fathoms on the south side, being much shallower towards the northern point, Cape Charles: and as the thirty-seventh parallel runs through the middle of this entrance, it appears unnecessary to adduce any farther arguments to show that the Bay of Santa Maria could have been none other than the Chesapeake.

"Admitting the identity of the two bays, the question occurs, as to the first discovery of the Bay of Santa Maria, which was known to the Spaniards in 1566. On this point, nothing has been learned. Gomara, in the twelfth chapter of his General History of the Indias, published in 1554, in which he describes the coasts of the New World, passes over the whole space between the Cabo de Arenas, near the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, probably Cape May, and a river situated one hundred leagues farther south. No allusion to such a bay is made in any account of any voyage of either of the Cabots, or in the narrative of Verrazzano's expedition, though he certainly passed in the vicinity of the entrance of the Chesapeake, and landed not far from it on the south, in 1524; nor is it mentioned by Herrera, whose history ends with the year 1556, nor by Torquemada, nor by any other Spanish historian except Barcia, as above quoted.

"To the utilitarian the question will appear of no importance; nor can any direct advantage be derived from speculations as to the change which might have been made in the fate of the countries bordering upon Chesapeake Bay, had the Spanish expedition for their occupation, in 1566

proved successful. The wretched colonies of that nation, at St. Augustine and Santa Helena, long prevented the establishment of any other people in their vicinity, by maintaining a semblance of possession and dominion on the part of Spain, which her rivals did not consider it politic to disturb: and it may reasonably be assumed, that James the Second of England, would not have readily granted a commission to his subjects to encroach upon territories held under similar circumstances, by a power which he was always anxious to conciliate.

"ROBERT GREENHOW.

"WASHINGTON CITY, May 1848."

Mr. Greenhow is understood to have been engaged for many years, laboriously, on a history of Florida, Louisiana and Texas, and the adjoining countries, and to have procured for it a large amount of materials; some of them manuscripts, and others, though printed, rare and little known. There is reason to hope, that a volume of his history will shortly be made public. Any further remarks on the subject of his communication, are reserved for the first volume of "The Annals of Virginia."